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**NATURE AND EFFECTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING ON RURAL
COMMUNITY WELL-BEING IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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**NATURE AND EFFECTS OF CATTLE RUSTLING ON RURAL
COMMUNITY WELL-BEING IN KADUNA STATE, NIGERIA**

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**A thesis submitted to the Gazalie Shafie Graduate School of
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Philosophy Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
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ABSTRACT

Despite the role of the government to improve the well-being of its citizenry, there are agitations from many quarters on the deteriorating nature of their well-being due to cattle rustlers' activities in Kaduna State, Nigeria. Cattle rustlers' continuous activities had become an existential threat in the State and significantly affected the people's well-being, particularly in rural populace. Thus, this study aims to investigate the nature of cattle rustling within the rural populace of Kaduna State and its effects on their well-being, as well as analyzing preventive measures taken by them against cattle rustling. Eco-violence theory, Queer Ladder theory of mobility, and Securitization theory have been selected and utilized in this study. This study adopts qualitative research methods by conducting in-depth interviews, focus group discussion (FGD) and observation for data collection. Three local government areas are purposively selected with twenty (20) respondents are selected for IDI using snowballing sampling method. Two FGD sessions are also conducted with a group of herdsmen and farmers, while relevant facilities are thoroughly observed. Four themes have later been developed and thematic data analysis has been completed by using Nvivo 11. The result shows that violent conflicts between herdsmen and farmers occurred in the study area. The findings reveal that cattle rustling always involved specific group like an organized crime, which mostly occurred at night and dominated by aggressive herdsmen youths. The study also discovers that cattle rustling has significantly affected the economy, education, health, lives, property, and psychology of the rural populace. This study divulges that few preventive approaches like border security, disarmament, security agents and vigilante groups have been initiated in Kaduna State. However, those approaches seem ineffective to deal with cattle rustling activities there. Therefore, this study recommends that the securitization of cattle rustling, rural community policing have to be improved alongside with the improvement on the facilities and activities of security agents.

Keywords: Cattle rustling, Conflict, Herdsmen, Kaduna, Well-being

ABSTRAK

Meskipun kerajaan sewajarnya berperanan untuk memperbaiki kesejahteraan rakyat, terdapat banyak pertikaian daripada pelbagai pihak mengenai kesejahteraan hidup masyarakat yang semakin terjejas akibat daripada kegiatan para pencuri lembu di Wilayah Kaduna, Nigeria. Kesejahteraan penduduk luar bandar berada dalam keadaan bahaya ekoran daripada kegiatan pencuri lembu yang berterusan sehingga mencetuskan keresahan di wilayah yang berkenaan.

Lantaran itu, kajian ini menyasarkan untuk menyelidik situasi pencurian lembu yang berlaku dalam komuniti pedalaman dan kesan-kesannya terhadap kesejahteraan kehidupan mereka, di samping menganalisa langkah-langkah pencegahan yang diambil bagi menangani kes-kes pencurian lembu tersebut. Teori *eco-Violence*, teori *Queer Ladder* untuk mobiliti dan teori Sekuriti digarap dan digunapakai dalam kajian ini. Kajian ini menggunakan kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif dengan mengendalikan wawancara mendalam, diskusi kumpulan fokus (FGD) dan observasi bagi menyempurnakan pengumpulan data. Tiga daerah dalam wilayah pentadbiran ini dipilih secara spesifik dengan dua puluh (20) orang responden dipilih untuk IDI menggunakan kaedah persampelan pendorong (*snowballing*). Dua sesi diskusi kumpulan fokus pula dijalankan melibatkan sekumpulan 5 orang penggembala dan 7 orang penternak, manakala observasi dilakukan ke atas kemudahan-kemudahan tersedia yang relevan. Kemudian, empat tema telah dibangunkan dan data analisis tematik dilakukan dengan menggunakan aplikasi Nvivo 11. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahawa pertembungan yang ganas antara penggembala dan penternak sememangnya wujud dalam kawasan kajian. Dapatan kajian turut mendedahkan betapa pencurian lembu selalu melibatkan kumpulan yang spesifik seumpama sebuah jenayah yang terancang dengan kebanyakannya berlaku pada waktu malam dan didominasi oleh kumpulan penggembala muda yang agresif. Kajian ini juga mendedahkan bahawa pencurian lembu telah menjejaskan ekonomi, pendidikan, kesihatan, nyawa, harta, dan psikologi penduduk luar bandar. Kajian ini juga mengetengahkan betapa beberapa pendekatan pencegahan seperti keselamatan sempadan, pelucutan senjata, agen keselamatan dan kumpulan pemantau telah diusahakan di Wilayah Kaduna. Walau bagaimanapun, pendekatan-pendekatan pencegahan tersebut kelihatan tidak berkesan dalam menangani pencurian lembu di sana. Justeru itu, kajian ini mencadangkan pemantauan sekuriti terhadap pencurian lembu dan pengawasan komuniti luar bandar perlu dipertingkatkan, seiring dengan penambahbaikan terhadap kemudahan-kemudahan dan aktiviti-aktiviti agen keselamatan.

Kata kunci: Pencurian lembu, Konflik, Penggembala, Kaduna, Kesejahteraan

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Since the beginning of the democratic dispensation in 1999, Nigeria as a nation-state, on account of corruption and poor leadership, started witnessing an upsurge in different types of wrongdoings. Numerous types of crimes like kidnapping, nomadic pastoralist and sedentary farmers conflicts, the Boko Haram (insurgency), rape, cattle rustling, pipeline vandalism in the Niger Delta region, and other criminal activities have claimed the lives and properties of many Nigerians (Otto, & Ukpere, 2012). Most of these crimes are committed in the rural communities. This has negatively affected the well-being of the rural populace in the country. Furthermore, Aghedo, & Osumah, (2012) have blamed the governors in northern Nigeria for their inability to provide basic needs that will improve the well-being of the citizens as the factor responsible for the prevalence of the criminal activities mentioned above. This shows that the rural communities in northern Nigeria are not secured and the security of their lives and properties cannot be guaranteed. As a result, the well-being of the rural populace is being negatively affected.

Many researchers have conducted studies on cattle rustling because of the problems it posed around the globe (Abdullahi, Victor & Binta, 2017;

Anyango, Muhingi, Okuku, Mutavi, & Mwalw, 2017; Emmanuel, Bunei, & McElwee, 2016; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Cheserek, Omondi, & Odenyo, 2012). For instance, in developed countries like Italy, cattle rustling was an old aged activity that was predominant up to the first half of the 20th century (Tangorra, Calcante, Nava, Marchesi, & Lazzari, 2013). However, the menace of the cattle rustling was regulated appropriately. Furthermore, cattle rustling in Sindh, Pakistan, continue to exist for over 100 years notwithstanding the consistent efforts made by the authorities to eliminate the menace (Abbas, Muhammad, Raza, & Horeth-Bonteng, 2014). This shows that cattle rustling has existed around the globe for a long period of time and it took concerted efforts of the affected countries like Italy and Pakistan to overcome the problem.

Although, cattle rustling registers its presence in many parts of the world, it is still more prevalent in developing countries, particularly in Africa, to be specific. Cattle rustling in Massai, Pokot, Turkana, and Samburu was traditionally a cultural activity where the youths steal cattle to restock for reasons like payment of dowry; show of worthiness, heroism, courage and social status, rite of passage as a way of wealth enhancement (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). This shows that cattle rustling was, hitherto, normal and accepted in some societies of east Africa. However, the understanding of the existing cattle rustling in the current literature is that it is a system of livelihood, moved by both subsistence and commercial necessities, for selfish interest (Gueye, 2013). Furthermore, cattle rustling was also found to be a business network involving community members, security agents, and people in the business, rural and urban criminals (Emmanuel, Bunei, & McElwee, 2016). The study further observes that the

hitherto cause of cattle rustling as a culture has now changed to an economic means of livelihood in northern Kenya and some parts of east Africa. This has, therefore, changed the belief and thinking of the people on cattle rustling. Thus, understanding cattle rustling become an issue of multiple realities.

Cattle rustling was understood as an illegal and forceful collection of livestock from the owners or communities, using any available arm without minding the loss of lives and properties of the victims (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Tangorra *et al.*, 2013). Although there is no acceptable definition of the concept, some scholars have tried to differentiate between cattle rustling and cattle raid. For instance, Cheserek *et al.* (2012) have argued that cattle rustling is done violently with the intention of killing or destroying properties of the livestock owners and usually at a commercial level. Cattle raid on the other hand, is a nonviolent way of stealing the cattle with no intention of harming the owners. In other words, cattle rustling is referred to as rural banditry while cattle raid is stock stealing. Nevertheless, most scholars used the concept of 'cattle raids' to denote the same thing with that of cattle rustling (Davis *et al.*, 2010; Greiner, 2013). To back up these assertions, a research conducted in Karamoja, Uganda, shows that raiders were always seen with offensive arms like AK- 47 for operation (Eaton, 2010). In a more precise term, particularly from the explanations above, cattle rustling, cattle raid, and rural arm banditry are the same since the causes, types and the nature of the arms used when committing the acts were established to be the same. It is, therefore, an issue of a nomenclature as the names are, thus, used interchangeably.

Cattle rustling remain an old age phenomenon which is still practiced and rampant in some parts of East Africa like Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan etc. (Siror, Huanye, Dong, & Jie, 2009). The problem has existed in the Tot Division, Marakwet District for uncountable generations but it has taken a fatal dimension in 1992 when 700 persons with police officers lost their lives, 600 households lost their houses, 39 schools closed down, thousands of cattle stolen and many families banished (Murkomen, 2011). It was first practiced in eastern Kenya when the perpetrators used homemade weapons like; clubs, poisoned, bows and arrows, swords, sticks etc. Later they started using sophisticated arms as a result of the proliferation of small and light arms as well as the commercialization of cattle rustling (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). Cattle raid has now changed and has become a perfect and concealed organized crime (Emmanuel, *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, cattle rustling has become a more confrontational activity, a large number of livestock are taken from other ethnic groups and the victims are regarded as slaves (Morris, 2010). This shows that the nature of cattle rustling has changed from simple to complex, and it leads to the enslavement of the weaker groups because of the violent nature of the problem.

Cattle rustling, in recent times, has become a perpetual problem that now negatively affects the Nigerian economy which leads to severe insecurity and affects the well-being of people in rural communities. Although the menace is relatively new in Nigeria, especially on a large scale, it became more conspicuous when it started affecting the elites in the country (Momale, 2016). The problem is more disturbing in the rural communities of the northern parts of the country where farming and cattle herding are the main means of livelihood of the people (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014).

Cattle rustling has posed a serious problem to the well-being of rural communities in Nigeria, Kaduna State to be precise.

The deteriorating living conditions of the rural communities and the increasing movement of people from the rural areas to the urban centres are the results of long years of abandonment of these areas by government (Akpan, 2012). There is no general or a unique way of defining a rural community. This is because the concept has bearing with disciplines like Sociology which explains rural community based on the socio-cultural compositions of the people in rural settings. Geography, as a discipline, considers the rural community based on the space, while Economics sees it in terms of the economic activities of the people living in the area (Mountrakis, Avruskin, & Beard, 2005). Furthermore, in defining rural communities, two important issues are to be considered: socio-cultural and descriptive. Socio-cultural, as a means of definition, assumes that the population nature of an environment determines the behaviour and the attitudes of the people living there. The descriptive definition is a way of describing a particular community as rural, suburban, urban and the population size of a given community (Halfacree, 2009).

Despite the interest shown by scholars regarding cattle rustling, little concentration is given on how the menace has affected the well-being of the rural communities and the understanding of more appropriate approach to prevent the problem. Furthermore, the Nigerian and Kaduna State government have no policy on cattle rustling in vision. This study, therefore, focuses on the nature of coexistence among rural communities, the nature of cattle rustling, the socio-economic effects of the cattle rustling on the

well-being of rural communities, and the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches in the study area.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Cattle rustling has become one of the major security threats bedeviling Nigeria today. This is so because almost daily, Nigerian newspapers give reports of attacks on rural communities by cattle rustlers. Given the above assertions, Joseph (2011) has observed that cattle rustling has become a threat to the survival of rural communities in Nigeria, and northern parts in particular because of its nature. Abubakar (2016), the Director of Centre for Democratic Development Research and Training, Zaria has revealed that cattle rustling is an appalling and a national misfortune because it is as threatening as the Boko Haram (terrorist group) that is always discussed in the media. To Abubakar (2016), because of the activities of the cattle rustlers in the north-western part of Nigeria, 120 people were killed in a day. This shows the gravity of the problem.

Furthermore, Uji (2016) also associates the actions of the cattle rustlers to that of terrorist groups like the Boko-haram, Al-Shabaab, and Taliban in terms of danger. In addition, the menace has been associated with the rising upsurge of violence in northern parts of Nigeria, as demonstrated in the phenomenon of herder/farmer conflicts and Boko Haram insurgency (Okoli, & Atelhe, 2014). This shows that there is a problem on the nature of living in the rural communities of northern parts of Nigeria.

In recent times, the upsurge of cattle rustling in Nigeria has engaged the form of considerable village raids, whereby pastoralists' communities are repeatedly attacked, their women raped, and the criminals steal any available items including livestock. These forms of attack have become very common in the three geo-political zones of the northern parts of Nigeria, namely the northeast, northwest and northcentral (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). This shows that cattle rustling has become common not only in Kaduna State but the entire northern parts of Nigeria.

Kaduna State, located at the centre of the northwest, is presently under the threats of these men of the underworld and it has drastically affected the corporate existence of the State (Abubakar, 2014). People no longer want to live in the rural communities of the State because of fear of attacks by the cattle rustlers. Consequently, the well-being of the people living in the rural communities has become a problem, since the agricultural products and animal husbandry that remain the economic backbone of the rural communities are affected.

The conflictual nature of living between pastoralists and sedentary farmers in Nigeria has also been linked to cattle rustling which affects the rural community's well-being. For instance, Higazi (2016) investigated on social conflicts between pastoralists and farmers in Plateau State and discovered that 2,337 cattle were rustled, and 18 persons were killed during the conflict that took place in 2014. However, 1,171 cows were recovered, while only six suspects were arrested. More disturbing was a single incidence that recorded the loss of 300 cattle in a day in Shandam Local Government area of Plateau State without any arrest made. Furthermore, in the same year and the

same month, in Plateau State, a state sharing border with Kaduna State, 28,000 cattle were raided and 264 pastoralists killed by the armed men (Vincent, 2015). This is displaying the inability of the public security outfits and government to end the problem of cattle rustling for the improvement of the well-being of the rural communities. The question, therefore, is, what is the best way of preventing the menace of cattle rustling in the study area?

Facts showing the entire and distinct figures on cattle rustling in Nigeria or Kaduna State are hardly available because of the way the cattle rustling is being handled by the security agents, government and the victims. However, few remote data exist to show the existing frequency, effects and nature of cattle rustling in the country and in the study area. For instance, in August 2011, not fewer than 19 farmers were killed in Zamfara State. In August and November 2012, it was reported that 62 people were gunned down in the State. Again in the same State, in 2013 the executive governor who was in charge of the State's security, confirmed that 160 men were killed, 60 cattle rustled (Nurudden, Ronald, Hamisu, Sadiq, Ibrahim, Shehu, Abah, Aliyu, Abubakar, & Ahmed, 2014). This shows a high level of insecurity in the State. This situation will certainly affect the well-being of the rural communities because the people living there would automatically desert the community for security reason. In addition to that, the government may not likely provide facilities that will improve the living conditions of the rural populace since the communities are not safe for people to live in.

In the same State, forty-five villages were plundered by the outlaws just as members of the communities were served with threat notice to vacate their communities by the rustlers or face serious attacks. As a result, more than 250,000 farmers could not cultivate their farms in the 2014 due to the fears of attacks by the cattle rustlers (Kabara, 2016). The threat issued, and the vacation of the villages had affected the economy of the rural communities. This has led to food insecurity in the concerned rural communities. As such, the well-being of the people in those communities was negatively affected.

Another investigation made to ascertain the level of damage caused by the activities of the cattle rustlers in Kaduna, Niger, Zamfara, Benue, Plateau, Nasarawa and Taraba states in 2013, shows that 322 pastoralists were killed while 60,000 cattle were stolen by the rustlers (Nurudden, *et al.*, 2014). The level of livestock rustling indicates that there is no state in the northern part of Nigeria that is safe from the danger posed by cattle rustling.

The existence and the activities of cattle rustlers in most parts of Nigeria is no longer news. However, research conducted shows that the problem is more prevalent in Plateau, Bauchi, Nasarawa, Zamfara, Kaduna, Benue, and Katsina states (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). The incidents claimed the lives of forty-four persons, with properties and houses worth millions of naira burnt into ashes (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). These series of attacks show that the problem of cattle rustling still exists in the study area and the government is not living up to the expectations of the victims in curbing the menace.

In 2013, cattle rustlers with sophisticated weapons, launched violent assault on the farms of the then Nigerian Vice President, Alhaji Namadi Mohammed Sambo and the Emir of Zaria, head of the Kaduna State Emirate Council (Dr) Shehu Idris and made away with 1000 and 200 cattle respectively (Ibrahim, Ibrahim, Allah, & Saulawa, 2016). Also within Kaduna State, Yakasai (2016) gave a summary of the prevalence and effects of cattle rustling on the people in the early months of 2016. Livestock raiders, according to him, attacked six commercial farms within a week in Kachia Local Government Area and stole more than a hundred cattle, killing one herdsman. Within the same period, the cattle rustlers invaded another farm along Kaduna – Zaria road where they also rustled one hundred and five cattle, sheep and goats. A private security guard on duty also lost his life during the raid. Again, the raiders attacked a herder's camp in Jere along Kaduna – Abuja road and adjoining rural communities in April 2016, where they stole about 203 cattle in two days (Yakasai, 2016). The operations carried out by rustlers portray the level of danger and the concomitant effects on the well-being of the affected rural communities in Kaduna State. The activities also depict the level of security lapses on the part of the state, actions are carried out without any clear measures taken by the state services to put a stop to the menace.

Institutions like the police, courts, community leaders, vigilante groups etc., were said to have been used in Nigeria, and Kaduna State to prevent criminal activities related to cattle rustling. Researchers also conducted studies on how to use technologies to prevent cattle rustling, using radio frequency identification, GSM and other

technologies (Ibrahim, Ibrahim, Allah, & Saulawa, 2016; Siror *et al.*, 2009; Tangorra *et al.*, 2013). There is always the problem of understanding the best institution or approach to be used at a point in time. Military and police interventions embarked upon by the Federal Government has not yet produced the expected, satisfactory results (Ibrahim *et al.*, 2016). The rural communities and the security agents may give a better explanation on the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches put in place by the Kaduna State government.

Literature on livestock rustling have reliably been rising in parts of Africa (Greiner, 2013; Schilling, Opiyo, & Scheffran, 2012; Momale, 2016). In Nigeria, on the other hand, most studies were focused on the conflict between nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers. However, cattle raids and their effects on the well-being of rural communities have not yet received satisfactory scholarly attention (Oladele & Oladele, 2011; Saeed, 2009). Efforts made by researchers to address the problem, praiseworthy as they are, suffer also from being fundamentally descriptive, lacking in methods of data collection, and shallow in nature (Arthur *et al.*, 2016; Ibrahim *et al.*, 2016; Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). This is so for the fact that cattle rustling originated and is mostly practiced in East Africa (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Nonetheless, as the situation somewhere else, the current spate of continued killings of innocent souls, destruction of properties, stealing of livestock, the constant rural-urban migration that affects the rural community's well-being connected to cattle raids need proper attention.

Cattle rustling in Nigeria and Kaduna State has become more glaring in Nigeria in 2011 when the cattle of the political elites' cattle are affected (Momale, 2016). Again, Musbahu, (2015) reported that cattle rustlers with sophisticated arms attacked Unguwar Fulani Village in Chikun local government area, drove 300 cattle and forcing the entire community to leave the community for Sabon Gayan a more develop area. Furthermore, thousands of herdsmen in Kaduna have fled their communities since June 2013 because of attacks by the cattle rustlers. For instance, on 13 June, cattle rustlers launched an attack Kwasa-Kwasa village in Birnin gwari local government, killing 5 people, including 3 vigilante and 2 soldiers. This shows that cattle rustling began in 2011 in Kaduna State, and the north in general.

All members of the rural community deserted the area for safety (Ishu-Josef, 2015). To understand cattle rustling properly, this study, focuses on the nature of coexistence among rural communities, nature of cattle rustling, the socio-economic effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities, and the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches in the study area.

1.3 Research Gap

The preceding sections have dwelt extensively on cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities and shows the gaps existing in the literature. Studies were conducted on cattle rustling, globally, regionally and in Nigeria to be specific. However, literature on cattle rustling has not been given the desired attention. Most of the scholarly researches on the phenomenon were conducted in countries like

Kenya, Mali, Sudan, etc., because the problem has been existing in those areas for a very long time without getting the proper solution. Most of the literature reviewed focused on the causes, consequences and the electronic methods of preventing cattle rustling (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012; Eaton, 2010; Greiner, 2013; Bollig *et al.*, 2013). Yet, those works have ignored the assessment of security organisations involved in the prevention of cattle rustling to ascertain the most effective one. Thus, focusing on the effectiveness of the security personnel saddled with responsibility of preventing cattle rustling is a gap in the literature that is worth exploring.

Again, most studies conducted on cattle rustling often tend to be from the perspective of quantitative enquiry (Kaimba *et al.* 2011; Cheserek *et al.*, 2012; Momale, 2016) focusing on sampling large number and measuring the perception of the respondents via survey on the nature and causes of cattle rustling (Ebong, 2016). Shifting grounds from this methodological tradition predominant in the literature is also a gap to be explored. Therefore, moving from using the quantitative methods to the qualitative methodology, this research will fill the methodological gap in the literature.

Although few work on cattle rustling have been conducted in the northern part of Nigeria (Momale, 2016), the complexity and the subjective nature of the phenomenon (cattle rustling) requires gaining the understanding of the participants' focusing on world view and experiences (Merriam, 2009; King & Horrocks, 2010). This research has distinguished itself by narrowing down focus on Kaduna State, to the nature of coexistence in the rural communities, and the effectiveness of the existing cattle

rustling preventive approaches. This also remains a gap need to be filled in by this research endeavour.

On a final lap, most researches conducted from the reviewed literature did not either use theory or use only a theory. This is regarded as a gap in literature, thus, this research work uses three theories to have a more robust understanding of the phenomenon.

1.4 Research Questions

To properly understand the phenomenon, the following research questions were answered:

1. What is the nature of coexistence in the rural communities of Kaduna State?
2. What is the nature of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State?
3. How does cattle rustling affect the well-being of the people in the study area?
4. What are the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches in Kaduna State?

1.5 Research Objectives

The general aim of the study is to assess the nature of cattle rustling in rural communities of Kaduna State. To achieve the set aim, the following are the specific objectives of this work:

1. To explore the nature of coexistence in the rural communities of Kaduna State;
2. To understand the nature of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State;

3. To find out the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of the people in the rural communities of the study area;
4. To examine the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches in the rural communities of Kaduna State.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Some countries have, for now, been affected by incidents of cattle rustling such that, in most cases, degenerate into nomads/farmers' conflicts or ethnic conflicts. In such communities, cattle rustling is a source of constant threat to living and the livelihood of the rural populace. Rural well-being becomes almost impossible because of the frequent attacks launched by the rustlers on their victims. Continuous cattle rustling in the rural parts of Kaduna State has become a serious threat to harmony, peace, and stability that the State and its rural communities need to tackle. Under these situations, the necessity to offer theoretic references and recommendations is fundamental and paramount. Thus, it is critical to conduct a research in rural areas that are prone to cattle rustling such as the study area. A study conducted in areas affected by cattle rustling will give an understanding of its nature and effects on rural community's well-being and recommend ways for its prevention.

Public: The study is significant in Kaduna State considering the difficulties the affected rural communities are undergoing. The gap between the rural and the urban areas will continue to grow if the problem of cattle rustling is not solved. Cattle rustling has affected some educational and health institutions that are meant to improve the well-

being of the people. Findings from this study will help the stakeholders to identify institutions affected and address the problems related to cattle rustling. More so, the research will make a socio-economic significance by addressing ways to curtail the cattle rustling.

To researchers/academics, the study will help them to broaden their understanding of the issue and be better placed to theorize on cattle rustling, particularly in Nigeria, where researches on the problem are limited. Since the area of cattle rustling is under-researched in Nigeria and in Kaduna State in particular, this research will also be of benefit to scholars who will want to deepen their research into the subject matter under consideration.

Policy makers: The study looks at the existing preventive measures put in place by the state government. The rural communities in Nigeria need enough security to live and be protected since they are the majority and are very important to the existence of the state and the country at large. Successive governments in the country have paid little attention to the well-being of rural dwellers. At the end of this study, it is also expected that the policymakers will legislate on how to improve security in the rural communities to forestall the problem of cattle rustling in Kaduna State and certainly other vices bedeviling other rural communities in Nigeria. Again, this study will acquaint lawmakers with the knowledge of the problem, the best approaches to adopt in preventing the menace.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study on the nature and effects of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State, Nigeria could cover a large part of the State. However, the study is restricted to some rural communities in three local government areas, namely: Birnin-Gwari, Giwa and Chikun. The selection is informed by the prevalence of cattle rustling and the havoc it has brought on the lives and properties of the entire people living mainly close to the forest where it is safer for the cattle rustlers to perpetrate all types of evils on their victims. Also, the areas fall within the arid lands where only livestock-based production systems are possible and the more humid zones that can support crop-based production systems in the area. The research is focused on the nature of coexistence, the nature of cattle rustling, its effects on the well-being of rural communities and the efforts of the government towards preventing this problem.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Cattle rustling/Cattle raids: Cattle rustling is an illegal and forceful collection of livestock from the owners or communities, using any available arm without minding the loss of lives and properties (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012; Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Tangorra *et al.*, 2013). Cattle rustling, in this research, therefore, means an illegal and violent confiscation of livestock from the owners or communities, often with the use of arms against the wish of the livestock owners.

Rural community: Rural community signifies agrarian societies situated outside urban areas signified by the absence or little presence of basic infrastructures like road

networks, schools, hospitals, potable drinking water, and communication services (Goh, Kim, Nam, Choi, & Moon, 2015). This implies a backward community that lacks social amenities. In spite of the difficulties in the definition of rural communities, The Nigerian National Population Commission has described a rural community as a settlement occupied by less than 20,000 people (Madu, 2010). This definition has neglected the socio-economic and cultural features of rural communities. It has, therefore, not adequately explained the idea of what makes a rural community. In an attempt to give a more comprehensive explanation to the concept of rurality, Wilson (2010) sum up the following features with rural communities: prevalence of poverty, poor infrastructure, female dependency, ethnically-based group, frequent migration to the urban centres and dependence on subsistent agriculture. Wilson's explanation of a rural community is more encompassing because it captures economic, social and environmental space in the explanation of rural community. This explanation shows a clear picture of rural communities in developing countries, like Nigeria.

This study considers rural communities in Kaduna State to be based on primary industries like agricultural, pastoral and fisheries. Furthermore, rural communities are also considered as places that lack social amenities like pipe borne water, access roads, primary healthcare facilities, schools, etc. Likewise, the study regards rural communities as those with one or two ethnic groups and populated by a few people.

Herdsmen/ Pastoralists: These are groups of people found in about ten countries in West Africa. They solely rely on livestock and pasture for their livelihood. Their economic activities are mainly herding animals like camels, goats, sheep, mules, and

horses (Ezeonwuka & Igwe, 2016). Herdsmen/ Pastoralists are a group of people who obtain over 50% of their revenue from livestock and their products like milk, meat, hide and skin, labour derived from rangeland resources (Andreas, 2017). There are two groups of pastoralists: the Fulbe and Tuareg. The Fulbe are popularly known as Fulani in most parts of West Africa. They habitually graze goats, cattle, sheep and live in Mali, Senegal, Niger, Cameroun, Chad and Nigeria all in the Sahel region. The Tuareg mainly graze camels, goats, and sheep as their source of livelihood.

The Fulbe (Fulani) own more than 90% of Nigeria's livestock which account for one-third of the agricultural growth domestic product (GDP) and up to 3.2% of the nation's GDP (Bello, 2013). The groups are further categorized in to four, based on their residence pattern.

Nomadic Pastoralists: This group of livestock owner's practices pure trans-human life, with no enduring place of residence. They move continuously with their animals in search of pasture. Nomadic pastoralists in Nigeria are made up of different but similar ethnic groups. However, the Fulbe or Fulani constitutes more than 90% of the herdsmen (Abbass, 2012).

Semi-Nomadic Pastoralists: This is characterised by a permanent place of abode where the aging members of the family stay with some of the stock, such as the lactating cows, while the other stock is moved out in search of water and grazing during the period of dry season. They are mostly seen moving from the northern part of Nigeria to the Southern part in search of greener pasture.

Semi-Settled Pastoralists: They have a permanent residence and they habitually practice some supplementary farming for food production. They keep herds and usually, they only move out in search of grazing and water towards the end of the dry season (Andreas, 2017).

Settled Pastoralists: This group lives permanently in a specific community. They practice crop cultivation and their children graze the herds for them. They are sedentary in nature and always live in harmony with farmers (Andreas, 2017). For this research, therefore, herdsmen are regarded as the Fulbe or Fulani that constitute more than 90% of the pastoralists in Nigeria, irrespective of their residence pattern. They are in the rural communities of the state with similar language and culture, practicing both farming and pastoralism.

Grazing Reserve: This is a portion of land acquired, developed by the local, state or the Federal Government for the pastoral Fulani to graze without encroaching on farmers crops. For instance, in Nigeria, we have the Obudu cattle ranch with 332 kilometres (206 sq. mi), and Laduga grazing reserve in Kachia with 334 kilometres (207 Sq. mi) as good example of grazing reserves. The largest is the Kamuku National Park making a total of 1,120 kilometres (430 sq. mi) and cuts across Birnin-Gwari Local Government Area and parts of Katsina and Zamfara States (Ducrottoy *et al.*, 2018). All these grazing reserves were created during the colonial period for the pastoralists to graze without having much conflict with the sedentary farmers. However, these areas are now either encroached upon by other people or have

remained den for the cattle rustlers where they stay and deprive the pastoralists of their hard-earned resources.

Community well-being: The idea of community well-being is relative because it varies from one society to another. The explanation for well-being in one culture may not be the same for others. Well-being is exclusively a societal issue. The society makes the quality of life standards better for her inhabitants (Rostamalizadeh, Saliari, & Seyyedzadey, 2014). Again, Farmer *et al.* (2016) see community well-being in relation to what happens within and beyond the community. As a result, they consider pertinent objective and subjective community well-being features such as material, social and human. The material well-being has to do with information, infrastructure, livelihoods, access to amenities, income levels. The social well-being emphasises on social inequalities and division in the society. The human well-being is all about educational level and members' collective understanding of how their community is seen. Again, Matuga, (2009) defined community well-being as the social fabric of any community which includes a sense of belonging, reciprocity, trust, identity and place.

A research conducted to understand the high quality of life or well-being of rural people in Shabestar community, Iran, shows that a high quality of life is the effect of the condition and influences of three domains which are: individual, family and community. Factors to consider from the economic angle are high profit, living opportunities, financial dependency and earning money in rural communities. In the social dimension, social feasibilities of living in communities are satisfaction of life, security and happiness. Furthermore, health and environmental dimensions were also

found to include factors like physical and mental health, peace of life, air condition etc. (Rostamalizadeh, Saliyani, & Seyyedzadey, 2014). This shows that well-being is premised on the economic, social and environmental dimensions.

For this study, rural well-being is based on economic, social and environmental dimensions. The economic well-being is based on agriculture and livestock husbandry. The social dimension refers to the education, health, and the level of interaction among the rural populace. The environment is the conduciveness of the rural communities. However, because of cattle rustling, rural communities of Kaduna State lack all these dimensions.

1.9 Organisation of the Thesis

The first chapter presents the introductory parts of this study on cattle rustling: its nature and socio-economic effects on rural community's well-being in Kaduna State. The introduction briefly explains the concept of cattle rustling because of some ambiguities and linking it to rural well-being. Furthermore, the statement of the research problem, research questions, and objectives of the study are also discussed in that part of the study. Again, the significance of the study, the scope of the study, the operational definition of the terms, the organisation of the study also make part of this chapter. The second chapter is on literature review and theoretical framework. This chapter focuses on the review of relevant literature on the nature of cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities. In addition, Eco-violence, Queer

Ladder theory of mobility, and Securitization theories were used to interpret the phenomenon under study.

The third chapter focuses on the research methodology. The chapter covers the introduction, philosophical assumptions, qualitative research methodology, population and sampling procedures, methods of data collection, validity and reliability, techniques of data analysis, case study, and the concluding part. Chapter four of this research focuses on the presentation and analysis of the findings from objective one to four, which covers the nature of coexistence in the rural communities, the nature of cattle rustling, the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities, and the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches adopted by Kaduna State.

Chapter five is on the discussion of the findings. In that chapter, the synergy between the findings from the research and that of other researches are discussed. Meanings were made from the data analysed. Chapter six, the final chapter focuses on the concluding part of the research. After introduction, the chapter gives the concluding remarks, recommendations, research contributions, limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the review of literature related to cattle rustling and how it affects the well-being of the rural populace. Scholars' submissions on the coexistence in the rural communities, nature, and socio-economic effects of cattle rustling, preventive approaches to cattle rustling are also reviewed. This part of the research also reviews the literature on the social amenities that improve well-being in the rural communities. Furthermore, the Eco-violence, Queer Ladder theory of Social Mobility, and Securitization theories are reviewed and used to interpret cattle rustling.

2.2 The Nature of Coexistence among Rural Communities

Rural communities in Kaduna State are dominated by four major economic activities which are: farming, fishing, pastoralism, and hunting. However, farmers and pastoralists constitute most of the inhabitants in such areas. Herdsmen and farmers in West Africa have, for a long period of time coexisted in a symbiotic relationship that continued through both peaceful and antagonistic encounters. The two groups were living peacefully as each other's brothers' keepers and respect the then existing traditional authorities (Moritz, 2010). Furthermore, a research conducted in Gombe State, Nigeria found that farmers and herdsmen were hitherto, living in harmony with

one another, where farmers sell farm residues for livestock feed in exchange for milk, meat, and animal dung (Ibrahim, Zainab, Mustapha, & Dahiru, 2014; Muhammed, Ismaila, & Bibi, 2015). This shows that herdsmen and farmers were living harmoniously, specifically, during the colonial era. There was an exchange of animals, milk, and butter for agricultural goods from farmers. Furthermore, the pastoralists fertilized the farmers' farm for better yield (Ezeonwuka, & Igwe, 2016). In Nigeria, there were strong social ties between the herdsmen and the farmers. In fact, because of these social ties, herdsmen were admittedly given access to water, land, and offered communal security. The good relationship enjoyed by the herdsmen and farmers in the rural communities came to an end because of the incessant conflicts between the two groups which was provoked by scarce resources (Momale, 2016). This shows that there was a period when the two groups coexisted independently without violent conflicts.

The prevalence of herdsmen and farmers conflict is not only peculiar to Nigeria, it is widespread in sub-Saharan Africa and have been worsened by many factors (Bello, 2013). The relationship began to deteriorate from the 19th century onwards because of increase in population and movement of the Fulbe (Fulani's) southwards from Senegal to Cameroun down to the northern parts of Nigeria. Meanwhile, because of their importance to the economy of the rural communities they were received with respect. Increase in human and livestock population has unfavourably heightened pressure on land resources thereby causing the conflict between herdsmen and farmers, particularly during the dry season (Fogwe & Sikod, 2014). This shows that climate change, the mechanization of agriculture and expansion of the cattle and human populations have triggered the conflicts between the herdsmen and farmers. However,

this can be strongly challenged since some of the above-mentioned reasons were glaring in Europe and other developing countries like Malaysia. Yet, conflict of such nature does not exist. Therefore, the conflicts may likely be for economic, political, ethno-religious, and criminal reasons.

Wayumba (2015) has discovered that the herdsman and farmers conflict was triggered because of a change from the conventional land ownership to the private ownership and decolonisation in Kenya. In addition, the conflict was found to be further complicated because of climate change. This shows that land was hitherto communally owned. As such conflict was not prevalent. However, this may only be applicable to Kenya because most societies that passed through such transitions and the conflict is not currently found everywhere.

In a related development, Odoh & Chilaka (2012) have identified scarcity of natural resource as the immediate cause of the conflict. Climate change was discovered to be the remote cause. However, climate change factors like drought, water, and food shortages have forced herdsman to live a transhuman way of life consequently leading to herdsman and farmers conflict. Nevertheless, herdsman of nomadic nature cannot solely be traced to climate change because the activity was established as part of their culture. To Okoli & Atelhe (2014) the dynamism of climate change has aggravated natural resource conflicts like nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers conflict across Africa. Climate change, as a major trigger for herdsman and farmers' conflict has dominated the literature.

A research conducted on the relationship between water scarcity and herdsman and farmers conflict show that it was not the water scarcity that is responsible for the conflict but rather access to the water point (Audu, 2013). Access to water points were blocked by the farmers and conflict ensued when the herdsman tried to access the water.

Again, Gadzama & Abubakar (2014) have found that conflict between herdsman and farmers began in Katsina State because of the influx of foreign herdsman from neighbouring countries like Niger and Chad, etc., into Nigeria. They found that the nomadic Fulani who were fully armed, moved with their stock in number without respecting rules and regulations of the land. As a result, they destroyed crops without minding the consequences. Furthermore, disregard for traditional authority, contamination of streams by cattle, sexual harassment of women by herdsman was attributed to the cause of pastoralists and farmers conflict (Ofem, Bassey & Ofem 2014). Population growth and environmental degradation were also discovered as causes of the rift between the two major groups in the rural communities. Population growth and environmental degradation have intensified land resource competition resulting in the conflict between herdsman and farmers. Furthermore, destruction of crops, stray animals, cattle theft, harassment of herdsman by the local communities were also discovered as additional causes of the conflict (Shittu, Galtima, & Yakubu, 2016).

Suspicious among the groups and the land use laws were also seen as some of the causes of the conflicts. For instance, perceived sabotage on water side, where both the

farmers and herdsmen claim ownership and the land use autonomy which mostly leads to personal disagreement, caused farmers and herdsmen conflict (Bijani & Hayati, 2015). Furthermore, a research conducted by Ofuoku & Isife (2009) has revealed the following as causes of herdsmen and farmers conflict: contamination of streams by cattle, destruction of crops, disregard for constituted traditional authorities, zero grazing land, harassment of herdsmen by the sedentary farmers, female harassment by the herdsmen, indiscriminate bush burning, straying of cattle, and cattle rustling.

In addition, Bello (2013) blamed the groups for the cause of the conflict. For instance, farmers often view the destruction of their crops and irrigational facilities by herdsmen as some of the major causes of the conflict. Burning of rangelands, blockage of water points and cattle routes are also some of the major causes of the conflicts. The causes of herdsmen and farmers conflict were also summarised as: environmental scarcity, population explosion, expansive use of land for non-agricultural purposes, unfavourable ecological changes, unregulated transhuman land tenure system, lack of an effective institutional mechanism for conflict mediation (Adelakun, Adurogbangba, & Akinbile, 2015). It is, therefore, clear that there are many causes of the conflict.

Government poor attitudes toward controlling grazing land, cattle routes and aggressiveness of the herdsmen were discovered as the causes of herdsmen and farmers conflicts (Oladele & Oladele, 2011). The inability of government to change the livestock pattern of production from the traditional mode to a technology-driven type, are other causative factors responsible for the conflicts. Illiteracy among the herdsmen in the rural communities has also contributed to using group solidarity to

attack sedentary farmers. Again, the recent anti-grazing law enacted by the Benue and Taraba States governments and the herdsman colonies advocated by President Muhammadu Buhari-led government of Nigeria have increased the tension among the groups (Ahmadu & Ayuba, 2018). The conflict between herdsman and sedentary farmers was triggered by security lapses and socio-economic factors. Thus, herdsman become most vulnerable as a result of the problems of security, displacement, loss of human, animal lives, and economic losses (Dimelu, Salifu, Enwelu, & Igbokwe, 2017). This shows that government's negligence and lack policy on cattle rustling were the causes of the deteriorating nature of the relationship between the two conflicting groups.

Colonial policies were also seen as some of the causes of the historical competition between herdsman and farmers in some parts of Africa. This point has been identified to be the cause of the bloody conflicts between the two major Rwandan rival ethnic groups. Tutsi was not, exactly, the name of the ethnic group. Historically, it means "people who own cattle" and Hutu meant "people who farm" (Carney, 2012). This is an example of herdsman and farmers conflicts. In a related development, Jajere (2015) observes that the colonial policies in Nigeria have also led to the seizure of massive tracts and farming lands and turned them into native authority forest reserves. The immediate impact of this was that it made the herdsman and farmers to contest over land that was owned because of colonial forest policy. The rate of the rivalry resulted in the conflict between the two groups.

However, Abbass (2012) sees the conflict between farmers and herdsmen to have been existing since the beginning of agriculture. There have been increase and decrease in intensity, depending on environmental, economic, and other known factors. For instance, increase in the number of cattle because of the improved conditions, forced the herdsmen to seek for more greener pastures beyond their range. Again, climate change has become a great threat since the pasture no longer exists, thus causing herdsmen and farmers conflict. On the other side, improvement of agriculture also leads to more pressure on land were farmers cultivate cattle routes resulting in conflicts (Abbass, 2012). Furthermore, Bello (2013) conducted a research on the causes, repercussions, and resolutions of nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers conflict in northeastern Nigeria and found that the two conflicting groups have different explanations as to the causes of the conflict. For instance, the sedentary farmers strongly believe that destructions of their crops by herdsmen constitute the major cause of the conflict. However, herdsmen mentioned blockage of cattle routes and water points as the major causes of the conflicts in the study area (Bello, 2013). This clearly indicates that the encroachment on each group means of livelihood leads to the immediate causes of the conflict and the two groups are to be blamed for the problem.

The nature of the conflict is in different dimensions. For instance, Adeoye (2017) observes that herdsmen and farmers conflict is violent, destructive and short in nature. Sometimes, the conflict takes place in the night when herdsmen move around leading to the destruction of crops belonging to farmers. In a related development, Menbere (2013) discovers the conflict to have been a recurring problem for decades, mostly during the harvesting period as a result of the transhuman nature of the herdsmen in

search for pasture. This shows that the nature of the conflict cannot be easily explained because of its complexity. Again, the conflict is old. However, it has recently assumed an alarming dimension in the north and some parts of Nigeria in general (Osegbue, 2017). Furthermore, the conflict has changed radically from the hitherto isolated cases of attacks, and counter-attacks or reprisal attack to full-scale war between the pastoralists and the farmers (Bollig et al., 2013). From the above arguments, the conflict is changing from simple to complex. This may not be unconnected with the proliferation of small arms used during the conflicts by the parties during the face-off.

The conflict was discovered to be identity based that are not self-explanatory. They are rather determined and pushed by the political economy of the society and the state (Clement, 2015). Contrary to the above argument, a research conducted has revealed that herdsmen and farmers conflict is neither ethnic nor religious, but it is resource-based. The conflict is mostly predicted or explained on ethno-religious base in fragile countries characterised by impunity and corruption (Ahmed-gangum, 2018). The conflict is not religiously-based as in some of the communities, both the farmers and the herdsmen practiced the same religion, yet the conflict exists between them.

The conflict between the two groups has consequences that may likely be linked with the serious problems that bedeviled rural communities in Nigeria and Kaduna State. For example, Bello (2013) has discovered some of the negative consequences of the conflicts between herdsmen and farmers to include pauperizing both the farmers and herdsmen in the rural communities. The conflict has also led to social, political, and economic tensions. The conflict has also posed questions on the security and the

existence of Nigeria as one entity. In a related development, the conflict was found to have consistently threatened the source of livelihood of the rural populace just as it has harmful effects on national security and its source of income (Ibrahim *et al.*, 2014). Poverty and economic tensions caused by the herdsman and farmers conflict in the rural community were some of the causes of cattle rustling in Africa.

The solidarity enjoyed between the groups is also affected by the conflict, Fogwe & Sikod (2014) found that the conflict has led to the breakdown of communal solidarity, disrespect to the traditional authorities, loss of lives, destruction of houses, displacement of population, and devastation of crops and livestock. Also, the conflict was discovered to have led to the reduction of crop production and farmers income, displacement of farmers, loss of lives, properties, and trust. In addition, some female farmers were made widows (Ofuoku & Isife, 2009; Ofem, Bassey & Ofem, 2014). This shows that farmers are often more affected during the conflict than the herdsman.

Numerous management strategies have been used by the state government to prevent the conflict. Despite the persistence of animosity between the two warring groups, researches have revealed that regular review of stock routes and educational campaigns have improved the relationship and obedience rates among the groups (Adekunle, 2016). In a research conducted in Ghana on the relationship between socialisation and violent crimes in rural communities, findings show that formal education has drastically reduced violent conflict between farmers and herdsman (Abubakari, Yakubu, & Longi, 2014). This shows that provision of formal education can, therefore, promote harmony between the herdsman and farmers.

In another research conducted in Taraba State, northeastern Nigeria, the following were suggested as the lasting solutions to the conflict. Community policing, there should be a clear demarcation between grazing land and farmland, reconciliation of the past offenses (Kamilu, Fapojuwo, & Ayanda, 2012). Furthermore, another research recommends the prohibition of open grazing system and ranches to be built, traditional leaders should be trained and empowered to manage the conflict. Again, there should be a stiffer punishment for the invaders (Eje, Angai, Abdullahi, Eje, Wudaba, & Ishaku, 2017). Again, the establishment of ranching was found to be the most effective in reducing the conflict between the two groups (Idowu, 2017). The establishment of ranching will reduce the nomadic nature of the herdsmen as such improve the well-being of the rural populace.

2.3 Nature of Cattle Rustling

Cattle rustling have become a very serious problem that affects almost all aspects of life in the rural communities. Scholars around the globe have conducted researches on the subject matter and have given their perspectives on the nature, causes, and its effects on the rural communities.

Cattle rustling was hitherto seen as traditional, guided and regulated by taboos and beliefs which prohibited the sale of stolen stock (Greiner, 2013). Another research conducted in Turkana, Pokot, Massai, and Samburu rural communities of Kenya also shows that livestock rustling was more of cultural enterprise where youths steal cattle

as a way of restocking their cattle for reasons like, show of bravery, payment of dowry, courageous, worthiness, and social status as a means of improving wealth (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). This shows that the cattle rustling was neither bloody nor regarded as a criminal behaviour in those communities and at a given period. However, cattle rustling in Nigeria is now perpetrated by armed bandits, mainly residing in remote rural communities and forests they have made most of the affected rural communities ungoverned with strong collaborators from the urban centres (Momale, 2016). Also, cattle rustling is found to be a network of businessmen, made up of people from the same local community and security personnel, all of them benefiting from the business (Emmanuel, Bunei, & McElwee, 2016). This shows that, unlike the traditional nature of cattle rustling, it has now changed to an organised crime comprising different kinds of people for easy wealth accumulation.

A research conducted by Eaton, (2010) found that in north-western Kenya, two major types of cattle rustling were discovered in the study area: rustling of cattle for commercial and for economic reason. Livestock raids were also carried out as a retaliation on a different community. The rustling of animals by a community and the retaliation can result in serious communal conflicts that can be more dangerous than cattle rustling (Eaton, 2010). This shows that cattle rustling can lead to conflicts between ethnic groups. This is true of Nigeria where shepherds are always attacked because of cattle rustling, which leads to several reprisal attacks. Cattle rustling can further be understood from three different dimensions based on the motives. The first class of cattle rustling is committed by mostly the locals. The nature is mostly petty and for the purpose of food. The second category of cattle rustling is perpetrated

because of capital accumulation and is usually carried out by locals and their external allies. The third type is often perpetrated for financial acquisitions by a syndicate of cartels of agents, merchants, locals, and foreign partners (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Cattle rustling has also been divided into two forms. The first is cattle rustling carried out by opposite clans or group. This type of rustling usually involves people of the same ethnic background. The rustled livestock are usually shared among the group members for keep. This form of rustling exists in countries like Kenya, Somalia, and Uganda. The second form is perpetrated by criminal gangs who rustle and sell the livestock for monetary accumulation. This form of rustling exists where there was a ready market supported by security agencies (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). This type of rustling is common in Nigeria.

Rustling in Kenya has become a politics over administrative boundaries, struggles for limited access to land and effort to protect ethnically same electoral bases (Greiner, 2013). In a related development, cattle rustling in parts of Nigeria is also linked with seeming criminal activities, with political and ethnic identity questions. For instance, in Benue State, the hostility between herdsmen, and farmers were linked with the cattle rustling perpetrated by foreign mercenaries (Egwu, 2016). Furthermore, the research was extended to Nasarawa State where majority of the respondents 89% agreed to have experienced cattle rustling, while 65% reported having witnessed the menace at night (Egwu, 2016). This shows that cattle rustling mostly take place in the night.

Furthermore, Kynoch & Ulicki (2000) conducted a research in Lesotho and discovered two main reasons for cattle rustling. The research shows consistent

unemployment and poverty because of the large level of retrenchment as the primary cause of stock theft. Stolen livestock was exchanged for cash, guns, hemp (Marijuana). Consequently, cattle rustling became more attractive for the criminal-minded. In contrast, addition, jealousy made some villages to rustle other community's cattle. This contradicts the issue of poverty as a cause of cattle rustling. In Nigeria, poverty and greed can be taken as some of the major causes of cattle rustling.

In a different dimension, Bollig *et al.*,(2013) relate the cause of cattle rustling with the proliferation of small arms. Furthermore, Cheserek *et al.*, (2012) went further to give the following as the causes of cattle rustling in Marakwet and Baringo east of Kenya: availability of small arms, poverty, political incitement, women and illiteracy. The causes are, therefore, common and varied. In a related development, Greiner (2013) has observed that cattle rustling had changed from the use of local weaponry to modern ones leading to extreme violence. The problem was politicised and meant to safeguarding an ethnic group in northern Kenya. These arguments cannot be regarded as the one that holds much water because it is a dominant fact from the literature that the availability of arms aggravates conflict which later results in cattle rustling.

On a contrary note, culture that was supposed to be an accepted way of people's behaviour was discovered as one of the causes of cattle rustling. For instance, a study conducted in the Western Pokot district, Kenya by Nganga (2012) discovered that in Pokot culture the primary cause of cattle rustling among the youths was the need to secure bride price. Without cattle, the youths were considered poor that could not afford marriage because cows were given as bride price. This made the youths to

engage in cattle rustling to get cows to present as dowry for marriage. Lack of cattle because of culture can be regarded as a major cause of cattle rustling in Kenya. Even though ambitious by different needs and issues, it is progressively an economically-based form of criminality continued by informal networks (Kwaja, 2014). This shows that cattle raid is a planned work carried out by a group of individuals for their selfish interests.

Natural disaster was also put forward as one of the causes of cattle rustling in some communities. Shortage of grassland and water or diseases exhausted group of livestock. As a result, the affected group often sought to restock their numbers through rustling (Wamuyu, 2017). In a related development, Schilling, Opiyo, & Scheffran, (2012) conducted a study on raiding pastoral livelihood in northern Kenya and they submitted that drought and hunger had negatively impacted on the availability and admittance of resources and bad raiding ideas among the Turkana while increasing wealth and expense of dowry are most significant grounds of the Pokot community. In summary, the factors responsible for cattle rustling differ from community to community.

Information on rustlers with automatic and arms raiding rural communities with the mission of maiming and killing people and raiding animals has increased. For instance, the chairman of the Kaduna State branch of Miyyeti Allah Cattle Breeders Association of Nigeria (MACBAN), Ahmadu Suleiman has observed that within the period of 2013 to 2014 cattle rustlers had succeeded in rustling approximately 7000 cattle from herdsmen commercial livestock farms in the northern part of Nigeria (Gabriel, 2014).

Furthermore, cattle rustling is always well planned and effected using modern and destructive arms like Mark 4, Alexander Kalashnikov 47, German Rifles 3, Grenades and mortars (Abdullahi *et al.*, 2017). This shows the level of sophistication of the violent arms used during cattle rustling. The problem has drastically affected the well-being of rural communities in Nigeria.

Cattle rustling activities, unlike the situation in the eastern parts of Africa where culture plays a major role in its occurrence, in Nigeria the menace operates as a form of organised crime, driven by wealth accumulation (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). The main motivation for the syndicated criminality represents what, Kwaja (2014) captured and related it to the political economy of some rural communities which he referred to as “underground economy”. This is a way of accumulating prohibited wealth without tax. Furthermore, modern livestock rustling was also observed to have operated as a system of organised crime, driven by wealth accumulation because the proceeds are not subjected to taxation (Alemika *et al.*, 2013).

On the contrary, Uji (2016) has viewed the causes of cattle rustling from a religious perspective. For him, the attacks and rustling are towards Christians, as it has succeeded in reducing the population and abolishing the economic activities of the rural populace. He observed that there is fear among the Christians populace who interprets these attacks as a plan adopted to convert them to Islam in north central Nigeria. This school of thought cannot hold water because of the researches conducted by (Gidado, 2018; Abdullahi *et al.*, 2017; Ibrahim *et al.*, 2016) show the activities of cattle rustlers exists in the states where both the rustlers and victims practice the same

religion. This, therefore, debunks the idea of religion as the cause of cattle rustling as argued by (Uji, 2016).

2.4 Socio-Economic Effects of Cattle Rustling on the Well-Being of Rural Communities

Cattle rustling has caused a lot of problem in human societies globally. This problem has affected the socio-economic, security, and psychological nature of the people living in the rural communities. For instance, Kynoch & Ulicki, (2000) have discovered that the menace has affected rural populace psychologically, as well as their well-being. The victims could sleep as some fled their homes. Relationships between different villages were also affected. The worst part was that lives were lost during stock raids. In a related development, cattle rustling has led to trauma among the victims. For instance, a research conducted in Zamfara State, Nigeria, discovered that the victims were traumatized on account of attacks suffered by them. The trauma was found to be higher among farmers compared to traders and herdsmen. That had drastically affected their occupational status (Gidado, 2018). The differences are because of the attachment of the farmers to their farmlands and the crops destroyed (Gidado, 2018). This shows that the cattle owners and farmers were affected psychologically, economically, and socially.

Furthermore, Olaniyan & Yahaya (2016) have also discovered that cattle rustling has the following major consequences on the socio-economic, political and psychological aspects of the society. First, in the economic aspect, the activities of cattle rustling

establish a major danger to the living standard of the pastoralists and those who rely on livestock for survival. At the political level, the raiders have made government to appear irresponsible as she could not stop the killings and the destruction of properties of innocent souls that are supposed to be protected by the state. Psychologically, a massive number of people have been disposed of their possessions, and family members traumatised because of the reported cases of kidnapping and rape.

Cattle rustling has also led to the migration of victims to urban centres, which made them to change their livelihood styles, thereby affecting farming as the major means of survival in rural communities. The menace has also led to conflicts between nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers resulting to loss of lives and properties (Bollig *et al.*, 2013). Another disturbing problem of cattle rustling was its effects on herdsmen transhumance. Also, cattle rustling and rural banditry were often accompanied by kidnapping, rape, organised attacks on rural communities and looting of available properties (Egwu, 2016). This has affected the well-being of the rural communities.

Cattle rustling has negatively affected inhabitants of the places where it occurred. For instance, research on a cross-border cattle rustling and its economic impacts on rural Swaziland, 1990-2004, conducted by Simelane (2005), shows that families in the affected places could not feed themselves, pay their children's school fees, leading to their youngsters to drop out of school. Furthermore, because of the problem, it was found that there was serious suspicion that even made a police officer to commit suicide in Swaziland. This has, therefore, affected the community in both the social

and the economic spheres. Hence, the well-being of the rural communities is affected. In a related development, Sahni & Tyagi (2016) conducted a research in some rural communities of Colombia. The study found that cattle served as their source of income. But cattle owners were forced to sell their stock because of the fear of raid. The cattle owners were made to accept poverty for security's sake. Another study conducted by Kaimba, Njehia, & Guliye (2011) shows that the level of livestock rustling and the threats caused by the cumulative number of human deaths and livestock losses determine the size and migration of cattle owners from a volatile environment to a more secure area. This, therefore, undermined rural communities and destabilized their livelihood strategies, as a result, increase the level of poverty among the rural populace.

Cattle raid has led to the reduction of income of the cattle owners which has adversely affected their socio-economic well-being. This is so because herdsmen were forced to either sell or have their cattle forcefully confiscated by bandits. Furthermore, another research in the influence of cattle rustling in livestock marketing decision among pastoral communities in Boringo district, Kenya was also conducted. Findings of the study show that cattle rustling, particularly in its negative state, pointedly denotes to precipitate the sale of the stolen livestock even underneath tiny amount that could be described as raiding (Manu, Andu, Tarla, & Agharih, 2014). The study also found that cattle rustling generated insecurity, together with the deprived marketing infrastructure made market unreachable by both consumers and vendors thereby precipitating poverty and dependence amongst the herdsmen (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). This problem brands pastoralism to become a source of unhappiness rather than that of

income, as a result affects the well-being of the rural populace. Markets were deserted in some parts of Taraba and Kaduna states because of the fear of attacks from cattle rustlers. The low patronage of the weekly markets began between 2010 and 2014. However, less lucrative and busy markets were not affected by the rustlers (Kyari, & Alimba, 2016). This shows that the rustling had a negative impact on the economy of the affected communities.

The entire well-being of the rural population was found to be affected because of cattle rustling. For instance, children and women were found to be most affected. In some of the communities, has been linked with the kidnapping of young girls, rape, and destruction of victims' properties (Momale, 2016). The menace has instituted insecurity which results in unproductive resource use, food uncertainty, loss of human life and properties, reduction in stock number, limited access to water and pasture resources and compulsory migration, and closure of markets (Schilling *et al.*, 2012). The continued violence and vulnerability of the largely agro-pastoralist in Awash valley of Ethiopia is caused by cattle rustling, political relegation, and pastoralist cultural focus on cattle rearing as their sole economic activity (Menbere, 2013).

Furthermore, human rights violation and poverty were also discovered as some other effects of cattle rustling in rural communities. For instance, Alani (2014) conducted a research in the eastern and northern parts of Uganda and found that cattle rustling led to a never-ending economic uncertainty in term of dismal or abject poverty. Cattle raid has deprived the victims of nourishing resources from the animals and denied them of the incomes from agricultural production. The study found cattle raid as a breach of

the rights of the victims in term of their right to food, life, and properties by the rustlers. Another research conducted at Karamoja, Uganda found that victims of livestock rustling who rely primarily on cattle for their well-being were always left looming in life-threatening poverty and found it difficult to indulge in other economic activities like farming because of the harsh conditions (Hopwood, Porter, & Saum, 2018). This has also seriously affected the well-being of the rural dwellers because it denied them the enjoyment of life and their fundamental human rights.

Schools as one of the most important institutions for disseminating knowledge were not spared during the violent cattle rustling. For example, a research conducted in northern Nigeria shows that cattle rustling had led to the closure of schools which affects the school calendar in Kaduna and Taraba states. It was discovered that primary schools were more affected compared to secondary schools. Children were also found to be used during the attacks (Kyari, & Alimba, 2016). Primary schools are most affected because they were more in number. In a related development, a research conducted on the menace of cattle rustling in the seven local governments of Katsina State found that it has resulted to a high level of illiteracy, hunger, poverty, death and immigration of the victims to other places. (Abdullahi *et al.*, 2017). This has led the rural populace to migrated or refused to farm for fear of attack and consequently, resulting in poverty.

Cattle rustling was also found to have affected education. For instance, it was observed that the violence in the cattle rustling zoned has affected the teachers' attitudes towards their work, reduced their performance which is being mirrored by the poor

performance of the students in national examinations (Abubakari, Yakubu, & Longi, 2014). In a related development, cattle rustling has led to hatred, civil unrests, mistrusts, and wish for vengeance among rural communities in some states of north central Nigeria where ethnic and religious diversity is high (Idowu, 2017). Also, the incidence rate of cattle rustling and poverty in Northern Uganda was partly responsible for poor quality of education because of the inability of the parents to provide school materials for their children (Kandel, 2016). This shows that education has experience a set back because of cattle rustling.

Research conducted has established the linkage between herdsmen and farmers conflict and cattle rustling. For instance, in states like Nasarawa, Kaduna, Plateau, and Benue states, cattle rustling was established to have caused herdsmen and farmers conflict. In Zamfara and parts of Kaduna states, it was the conflict that resulted to cattle rustling (Momale, 2016). Also, cattle rustling has caused mistrust, tension and suspicion between farmers and pastoralists in Plateau State of north central, Nigeria. Thus, resulting to herdsmen and farmers conflict (Kwaja, & Abdul, 2016). This, therefore, shows that there is a connect between cattle rustling, herdsmen and farmers conflict: one leading to another.

2.5 Social Amenities and the Well-Being of Rural Communities

Globally, many factors have been identified as a means of improving or affecting rural well-being. This can happen because of the presence or lack of social amenities. For instance, Volk (2013) views electricity as one of the most important factors that can

improve the lives of people in the rural communities. Communities rely on constant power supply to promote socio-economic growth in both the urban and the rural centres. Studies have shown that rural electrification leads to reduction of poverty, reduces unemployment and rural-urban migration. To stress on this submission, a research conducted on the impacts of rural electrification in Kenya found that it improved small and micro enterprises that enhance schools, markets and other sphere of life (Kirubi, Jacobson, Kammen, & Mills, 2009). Related to electricity is renewable energy such as hydropower, solar energy, biomass energy. These were also found as contributing factors to the well-being of rural communities. For example, Oyedepo, (2014) specifically investigates the potentiality of renewable energy and its effects on the livelihood of the rural communities in Nigeria. The study shows that renewable energy, if properly harnessed, could improve the economy by increasing productivity, social welfare, ensuring improved standard of living of the populace. As for the environment, renewable energy will reduce pollution and environmental degradation.

Also, biofuel industry, a recent development as a source of energy was also discovered as an instrument for improving rural well-being (Hassan & Kalam, 2013; Ogaboh, Abam, Agba, & Okoro, 2010). Fuels made from animal residues and plants for transportation are referred to as biofuel. The primary source of these fuels is biodiesel and ethanol (Ogaboh *et al.*, 2010). For instance, a study conducted by Ogaboh *et al.*, (2010) confirmed that the biofuel industry creates employment opportunities, reduce poverty, and leads to the provision of social amenities like roads, electricity, and schools. Naturally, if there are viable means of livelihood and social amenities in a

community, the lives of the people will improve, and rural-urban migration will reduce.

Agriculture is also regarded as one of the major employers of labour, but it is neglected in most of the developing countries, Nigeria to be specific. Improvement in agriculture was also discovered as an important tool for agricultural growth and improvement in the livelihood of the rural communities (Diao, Hazell, & Thurlow, 2010). To illustrate this, Tersoo (2013) discovered that agricultural development leads to improvement of industries and ensuring a higher living standard for the rural populace. Agricultural business and industries can create jobs which become a source of income thereby leading to poverty reduction and the improvement of social amenities in the rural areas. Truly, if lack is reduced through the provision of employment and social amenities are improved upon, rural-urban migration will be a thing of the past.

Since dependence on agriculture alone may not lead to the desired well-being for the rural dwellers, scholars have identified the non-agricultural economy as a better means for the improvement of the well-being of the rural populace (Binswanger-Mkhize, 2013). Furthermore, Haggblade, Hazell, & Reardon, (2010) specifically conducted a study and found that non-agricultural earning constituted 35-50 percent of the rural population income all over the developing countries. Non-agricultural business has equal ability in reducing poverty among the rural communities. This is not always the fact particularly in the rural communities in Nigeria where most of the populace are not literate and non-agricultural business need more or little skill to develop. To crown it all, agriculture will provide all the non-agricultural business the required raw

materials. From a different angle, Stifel (2010) found that the agricultural economy is the largest employer of labour in the rural communities of developing countries. However, the non-agricultural economy brings higher returns compared to the agricultural economy. The implication of this is that in most cases, it leads to rural-urban migration since there is the belief that non-agricultural business pays more than the agricultural economy. The combination of the agricultural and non-agricultural economy might likely be the best way of improving lives of the people in the rural communities.

Women empowerment and participation in economic activities was also discovered as a fundamental tool for improving rural well-being (Ogunlela & Mukhtar, 2009). Furthermore, Ekesionye & Okolo (2012) conducted research in some local governments in Anambra State, Nigeria and found that women in the State dominated the main economic activities like trading, farming, food processing, craft, poultry, hairdressing and the rest. In addition to that, the women agreed to have been empowered through family assistance, loans, and credits from community banks, philanthropists' support, and cooperative society's assistance. Health promotion, food supply and distribution, education, etc. were some of the activities provided by the women to improve the living conditions of the rural populace (Ekesionye & Okolo 2012). Women empowerment in politics, economics and cultural decision making will eliminate gender discrimination and enhance women participation in rural development (Allahdadi, 2011). This form of support shows that if women are empowered and allowed to participate in economic activities, the economic status of the rural population will be improved upon.

Non-governmental organizations as non-profit organisations are also seen as playing an active role in improving the living standard of the rural populace in developing countries (Harangoz & Zilahy, 2015). These organisations can be religious or civil institutions that were formed with the aim of improving the lives of the rural populace. For instance, a study conducted by Ngeh, (2013) discovered that non-governmental groups played important roles in the development of rural communities in Nigeria by assisting small-scale farmers with loans to improve their productivity. They also concentrated on the training rural populace on skill acquisition; enlightenment campaign and advocacy for the poor in the countryside. The non-governmental organizations can play a significant role in improving the lives of the people of the rural communities, particularly in the areas of education, infrastructural development, human right protection and more importantly, poverty alleviation, and healthcare improvement.

Studies conducted by different scholars show that E-agriculture, and E-governance were also discovered as means of improving the well-being of the rural communities. For instance, Meyer (2005), in a research conducted on the nature and the practical use of information in rural development found that information, if properly handled could lead to improved well-being of the people. If it is not properly disseminated, it could negatively affect the lives of the rural populace. This can be typical of the Nigerian society where the mass media sometimes pass information that leads to ethno-religious violent conflicts which adversely impact on the well-being of the people in the rural communities. In a related submission, Chandra & Malaya, (2011) found that

information and communication and technology, through the mobile phone, has improved the agricultural well-being of the poor in India. It has empowered the rural populace by helping them to have access to crop prices, knowledge on the best seeds and commercial services were also done using phones. The process of using the phone to improve agriculture has started gaining ground in Nigeria where farmers registered for fertilizer and other farming materials online and got the delivery at the appropriate period. Hoque & Sorwar (2014) also conducted a study on the impact of equal access to information and communication technology between the rural and urban communities in Bangladesh. The study found that information and communication technology services have led to the development of both the economic, the socio-political, the health of the rural populace in Bangladesh. Information technology can also be used to develop the Nigerian rural communities.

On the contrary, other scholars are of the view that rural well-being can best be achieved through community efforts as a complement to government means of improving the lives of the rural communities. The scholars are of the view that rural development should begin from within not relying on the superior government or any volunteer (Chigbu, 2014; Oni, 2015). The study discovered that self-help, as an alternative strategy for an improved well-being, has not only enhanced growth but leads to development in some rural areas of Nigeria. Community efforts can, therefore, help to contribute to rural well-being. Similarly, personal efforts by parents were also discovered as contributing to the lives of the people in the rural communities. For instance, Gibson, Cahill, & McKay, (2010) in a study conducted in rural communities of Ethiopia, have established that parents' investments in education and water supply

have led to improve the success of their children. It was also discovered that all rural communities with improved water supply and access to education provided by parents are more developed than the communities that did not benefit from such investments. In Nigeria, rural communities neglected as a result of rural-urban migration and relatives may not likely invest in such communities.

Forestry development was also discovered as a factor that could eradicate poverty and empower the rural communities. This will result to improving the living conditions of the rural populace (Maryudi & Krott, 2012; Vermeulen, Nawir, & Mayers, 2008). For example, Slee (2006) conducted a research on forestry and rural development in Scotland and found that forestry served as a source of employment and thereby improving the economy of the rural populace.

Many factors were identified by scholars as bottlenecks to the well-being of the rural communities. Low level of education and lack of proper participation of rural women in activities of rural communities is considered as one of the factors. Specifically, Kongolo & Bamgose (2002) conducted a study in some South African villages and found that the literacy level of women had drastically affected rural well-being in the study area. Naturally, in African societies like Nigeria, particularly the northern part, large number of women are not allowed to acquire education like their men for cultural reasons. As a result, they cannot contribute meaningfully to the well-being of their communities.

Lack of social deficiency like access roads, water supply, hospitals, etc. was also discovered as constituting an obstacle to rural well-being. Similarly, Nkwocha (2009) conducted a study in the Niger Delta region, Nigeria, and discovered that people living in the countryside in that part of the country are faced with an acute shortage of water supply which had impacted negatively on their economic and social lives. In a related development, Khandker, Bakht, & Koolwal (2006) studied the effects of roads on rural livelihood in Bangladesh and found that lack of rural roads leads to poverty, increased transport fare for conveying farm produce, reduced the number of children going to schools and made market unsuitable. Naturally, lack of infrastructure affects both the economic and social development in most rural areas, as the case in Nigeria.

Scholars have discovered a land tenure system as a threat to community well-being. Specifically, (Pašakarnis, Morley, & Malienė, 2013) conducted a research in some eastern and central European counties on the impacts of land tenure system on the livelihood of the rural populace. The study reveals that rural well-being is affected because the ownership of the land is mainly small, and it is a challenge to mechanized agriculture that will improve production. Furthermore, Fonjong, Sama-Lang, & Lawrence Fon (2010) conducted a similar research in Cameroun and found that majority of the population of women participated fully in the economic activities of the rural communities. Yet the land tenure system had denied them the right to land ownership. The denial of land ownership has affected farming productivity. As a result, food in security looms. Because the land is not owned in large quantity and the majority are not allowed to own land, the economy will be affected. As such, the desired improvement in rural well-being will not be achieved.

Violent conflicts between ethnic groups, nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers were also identified as factors that affect rural well-being. Aliyu, Kasim, Martin, & Tao (2011) conducted a research in Plateau State of north-central Nigeria and found that essential public utilities that could help to better the lives of the rural populace like houses, cars, schools, hospitals, churches, mosques, and other social amenities were destroyed during ethno-religious conflict between indigenes that a predominantly Christians and Hausas who are predominantly Muslims. The study did not only discover the destruction of public utilities, but it also found that the provision and upkeep of the little neighbouring amenities were also affected because of lack of security. Furthermore, nomads and farmers conflict were also discovered as a problem to the well-being of the rural communities in Nigeria. Audu (2013) found that conflicts between nomadic pastoralists and sedentary farmers has drastically affected the livelihood of people in rural communities. The conflict has affected human and food security as result of killing and destruction of crops leads to rural-urban migration as well as destructions of houses. Social amenities, human and food security are cardinal to rural development. These two types of conflicts are common in Nigeria.

2.5.1 Dimensions and Model of Rural Community Well-being

The understanding of well-being is usually based on comparing the happiness and satisfactions of individuals or communities by others (Dodge, Daly, Huyton, & Sanders, 2013). This shows that well-being can best be explain as subjective. To Aristotle flourishing is the ultimate goal of existence, he viewed it as being important

in its own right, not just as a means to an end (Robinson, 1989). Flourishing is concurrently the absence of the crippling elements of human experience like depression, mental defects, anxiety, anger, fear, and the presence of enabling ones, like meaningful healthy relationships, environmental mastery, self-actualisation and engagement (Adler & Seligman, 2016).

Subjective well-being is one of the most researched and conceptualised. Subjective well-being includes how people evaluate their own lives in terms of both affective (how they feel) and cognitive (what they think) are all component of well-being (Diener, Oishi, and Lucas, 2003). The overall high subjective well-being combines three (3) specific factors: (1) the relative absence of negative emotions, (2) the frequent and intense positive affective states, (3) global life satisfaction. Further studies has shown that the affective and cognitive components of subjective well-being are separable over the differential contributions of these factors (Davern, and Cummins, 2007).

There are two major schools of thought that explain subjectivity of well-being. For instance, the humanistic and existential school of thought believed that subjective well-being also referred to as hedonic well-being, does not provide a full and clear picture of wellbeing. This is because, it fails to capture the complexity of philosophical conceptions around the notions of happiness and well-being. However, an alternative approach is the Eudaemonic paradigm, in which well-being is interpreted as a dynamic and an ongoing process of effortful living by means of engagement in meaningful activities (Vitterso, Overwien, and Martinsen, 2009). On the whole, hedonic well-

being emphasises the importance of feeling good, while the eudaemonic well-being is characterised by functioning well in multiple domains of life (Keyes, and Annas, 2009). This, therefore, shows that the notions of well-being, quality of life, and health status of members of rural communities are used to determine human and community conditions (White, Pahl, Wheeler, Depledge, & Fleming, 2017). Health and well-being are therefore, used interchangeably, because individual or community health determine the social, economic, and physical well-being.

Rural community is an agglomeration of people, including their interactions, in a non-urban environment. The functions and common interest of rural communities include political, economic, social, institutional, and special structures (Ramsey & Smit, 2002). The structures and functions in the rural communities are interrelated and interdependent playing important roles to the survival of the rural communities (Salemink, Strijker, & Bosworth, 2017). Rural economic well-being may be understood by the level of income, poverty, unemployment, and educational attainment (Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2012). While psychological well-being in the rural communities can be characterised by the level of suicide, fear, signs of life satisfaction (Silverstein, Cong, & Li, 2006). Furthermore, social well-being is characterised by social support and activity, personal interaction and life satisfaction (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004).

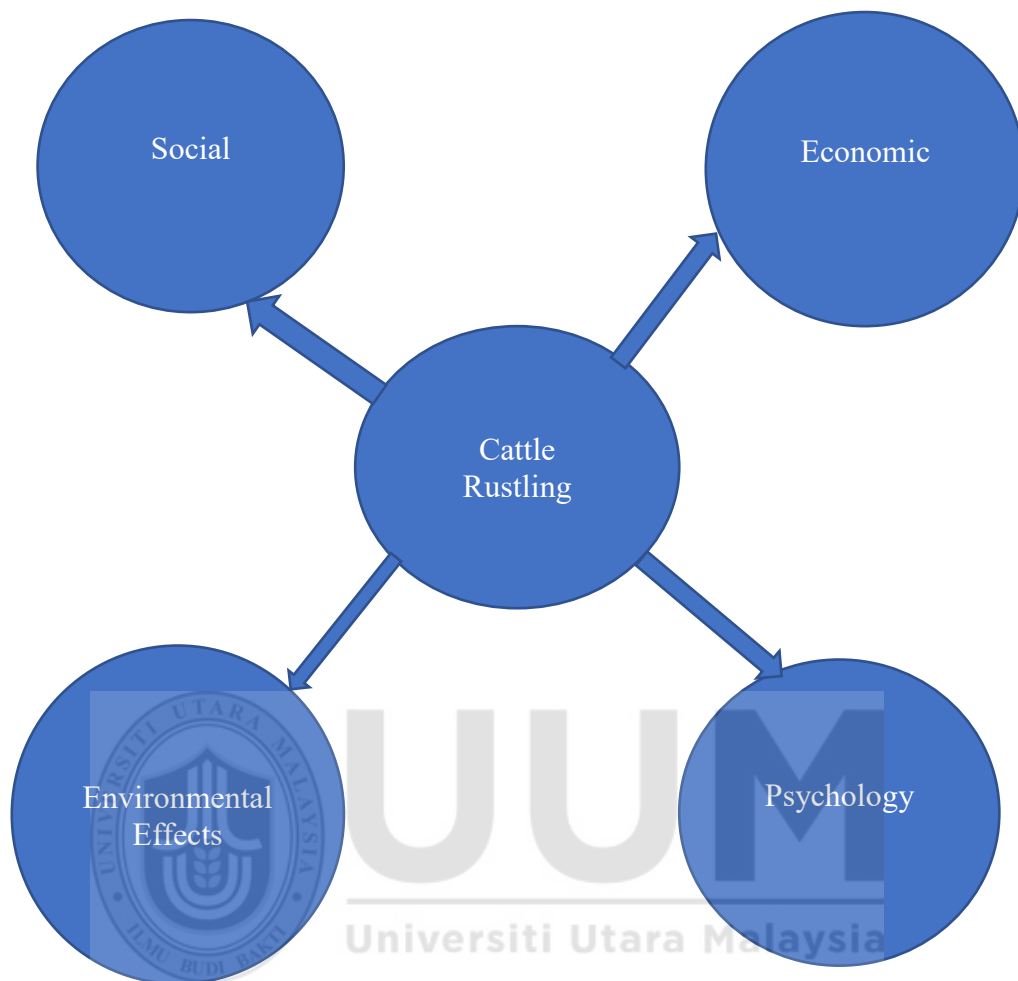


Figure 2.1: Model of Rural Community

Rural well-being is explained as the interrelated and interdependence of structural and functional conditions in the rural communities. The above model shows that cattle rustling has affected major aspects of the rural communities. The major economic activities in the rural communities are farming and pastoralism. Cattle rustling has changed and affected the economy of rural communities of Kaduna State. The farming and market have drastically reduced as a result of the activities of cattle rustling. Furthermore, the psychology of rural populace was also affected. The herdsmen were

always scared of attacks and rape from the rustlers. The social relationship in the rural communities has changed, there is no trust between the herdsmen and farmers, schools and hospital were also affected. Lastly, the physical well-being of the rural community was also affected, people are not healthy because of rape and sustained injuries etc.

2.6 Cattle Rustling: An Appraisal of the Preventive Approaches

Different researches were conducted on the prevention of cattle rustling around the globe. There are two major ways of preventing cattle rustling advanced in most literature. These are mechanical and human (manual) methods of managing the menace. The use of mechanical method was observed by researchers as a means of preventing cattle rustling. For example, Siror *et al.*, (2009) conducted research on how to create RFID and its use to end cattle rustling. They designed a central information system that identifies the location of animals using text messaging and GPR technology. Animal description and record are also embedded in the system. This method might likely help in reducing cattle rustling since it allows tagging, tracing, marking, SMS, etc. With this technology victims can determine or identify their cattle when they are taken to the market for sale.

The building of community cattle ranch and Radio Frequency Identification (RTID) technology is other approach to curbing cattle rustling in Katsina State (Ibrahim et al., 2016). The authors see technology as the best way of preventing cattle rustling. Furthermore, another research was conducted on the traceability of cattle in Botswana. The study identified four major ways of identifying cattle as follows: ear notching,

conventional ear tags, hot iron branding and livestock identification and trace back system that uses rumen bolus. Findings from the research show that the Rumen bolus is more effective in cattle identification than the electronic ear tags. This is because it has high retention rate and is tamperproof in relation to the electronic ear tag which be tempered with effortlessly (Moreki, Ndubo, Ditshupo, & Ntesang, 2012).

Human and security efforts were also regarded as part of the solutions to cattle rustling. For instance, Murkomen, (2015) observed that the police in Kenya have used many strategies to combat livestock raiding. The strategies include: deployment of many police officers, peace building and restoration and disarmament of the perpetrators. Again, the police concentrate on stopping illegal trade of cattle and small weapons in managing the menace. Furthermore, government used free and compulsory western education as a strategy to engage youths and educate them against cattle rustling. Studies also show that cattle rustling can be managed with effective border patrol and the involvement of herders in the prevention of the menace. Stiffer punishment for the offenders and improvement for rural community policing can also help in managing cattle rustling (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). In addition, increasing the rate of development in rural pastoral areas and formulating suitable policies will also assist in preventing cattle rustling (Kaimba *et al.*, 2011). Thus, improving the well-being of the rural populace.

Olaniyan & Yahaya (2016) have suggested the following preventive methods of cattle rustling: government should train security personnel with an intelligence gathering system. Again, the cattle breeders and butcher's association should be fully involved

in the fight against the menace because of their familiarity with both the cattle and the rustlers. The use of computer microchips to determine the location of the rustled animals was also suggested as a mechanism. Furthermore, Momale (2016) has found that vigilante groups were voluntarily formed in most areas because of the inadequacy of the police to prevent the crime. However, herdsman view the vigilante as not effective while the farmers found it to be the best in the prevention of cattle rustling.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The contemporary society is characterised by different schools of thought, each analysing social phenomenon from its orientation. Theoretically, all accuracies in research can be explicated and studied for rationality and understanding. That is why theories are used to help the researcher understand and put the phenomenon under study in an appropriate perspective. So, this study used three theories in the attempt to understand the nature and effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The theories used are the Eco-violence, Queer ladder theory of social mobility, and Securitization. The triangulation of these theories was because of their clarity, qualities, and relevance to the understanding of the phenomenon under study. Furthermore, the use of the theories has improved the validity and reliability of the study.

2.7.1 Eco-Violence Theory

The Eco-violence theory was used in this study to understand the phenomenon of herdsman-farmers conflict in Kaduna State. This theory was built on multifaceted

causes which could change from specific to the general causes of conflict. The theory was referred to as neo-Malthusian which acknowledged that resource scarcity caused by increase in population may negatively affect human well-being at risk. Thomas Homer-Dixon was the advocate of the theory, which suggests that environmental scarcity, caused by a decrease in quality and quantity of renewable resources, population growth, and unequal resource access could lead to violent conflicts. Such conflict ranges from ethnic clashes to insurgencies, natural scarcity induced wars out of a loss of sources of livelihoods and the careless behaviour of the state and the ruling class (Homer-Dixon, 1994). In a related development, as water supplies decline, conflict may arise between the competing groups over access to dams, wells, riverbeds etc., (Kahl, 2006). Water is the main input for pastoralists and farmers alike. Thus, herdsmen, and farmers may come into conflict because of water rights and access (Eriksen, & Linda, 2009). Furthermore, Kahl (2006) has observed that the elite manipulate state policies and limit access to resources for the disadvantaged group, and consequently, exacerbating the conflict.

Environmental scarcity has a diversity of serious social effects, which involve decreasing food production, over-all economic stagnation, dislodgment of the population, and the disturbance of institutions and traditional social interactions among people and groups (Homer-Dixon, 1996). In his own contribution, Benjaminsen (2008) states that scarcity of natural resources is rapidly increasing in several marginal environments due to the ongoing nature of environmental degradation and climate change because of population growth. It was also discovered that conflict is mostly caused over the distribution of scarce resources rather than their absolute level,

particularly when the distribution is politically determined (Hendrix & Salehyan, 2012). They further argued that the conflict can as well, arise because of decline in or excess of rainfall that may negatively affect the well-being of the people.

Thus, the eco-violence theory has three key dimensions: demand-induced scarcity, Supply-induced scarcity, and structural scarcity (Homer-Dixon, 1994). Demand-induced scarcity arises because of population increase that is not in accordance with the source of livelihood. Supply-induced scarcity arises when natural resources are abridged and degraded earlier than they are refilled. Structural scarcity is experienced because of inequitable distribution of the natural resources on account of domination by the few, while most of the population suffers from lack of resources (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Two common patterns of interactions glaringly related to these three types of scarcity are ecological marginalisation and resource capture. Ecological marginalisation happens when there is an upsurge in the consumption of resource together with structural inequalities in resource distribution such as: deprived access to the resources, weaker groups move to ecologically fragile regions, then becomes degraded. Resource capture arises when powerful groups in the society projected future shortages, distribute the resources to suites them, and exposing the rest of the population to scarcity (Homer-Dixon, 1994).

Environmental scarcity, in this study, means the inadequate grazing land, water for animal consumption and for farmlands. Environmental scarcity generates serious social pressures within countries leading to insurgencies, ethnic clashes, and unrest in urban areas' (Homer-Dixon, 1999). The decreasing availability of physical,

environmental and land resources such as clean water, good agricultural land for arable and animal husbandry could create a condition of simple security, group identity, and deprivation in the area, (Homer-Dixon, 1994) that could provoke violent conflicts of high magnitude due to population movements and scramble for available resources. The above assumptions assist the research to prove how and why rural communities who relied mainly on these environmental resources such as livestock grazing and farming land contest to control farm lands. It similarly offers an explanation on the physical violent nature of environmental scarcity, as it consequently fuels non-state conflict among the affected rural communities. Resource scarcity and its interactions create many common social effects, involving migration from regions of environmental scarcity, lower agricultural production, and weakened government institutions places of abundance. According to Homer-Dixon (1991), for the above social effects to cause intense grievances, people must experience a relative reduction in their standard of living compared to another group, and they must be convinced that there is little or no chance of improving their well-being (Gurr, 1993).

Though the eco-violence theory has been criticised for disregarding the specific linkage between political, and economic factors, natural resource and armed conflicts. Thus, reducing the understanding of the causal track to local armed conflict. Another research conducted also suggests that while environmental degradation is certainly not an essential condition for violent conflicts, neither is it an adequate one since states play key roles in containing violence (Yang, Cheng, & Chuang, 2015). This defect in the theory has been noted and is complemented by structural conflict theory to build a direct connection between political and economic factors, and local armed conflicts.

The adoption of the Eco-violence theory in understanding the herdsmen-farmers conflicts in Kaduna State is relevant since the conflict is primarily viewed as a structural one. The low level of rainfall and fragile soils in Kaduna State affects agricultural production. After a long period of cultivation of land, the fertility has eroded. This has resulted in a widespread environmental scarcity in Kaduna State and most parts of northern Nigeria thereby pushing the herdsmen into seasonal movement searching for pasture. Herdsmen and farmers' conflict in Kaduna State can, therefore, be linked with the increasing struggle over diminishing renewable resources like land and water. This is further aggravated by population growth, environmental degradation, and climate change which have repeatedly pushed the herdsmen to move from one place to another in search of fodder for their livestock (Abbass, 2012).

The Federal and state governments' inability to manage land and natural resources have contributed to most herdsmen and farmers conflict in Nigeria. Thus, herdsmen – farmers conflict in Kaduna State is seen as one over a natural resource which arises because of the parties' disagreement over the management, allocation, ownership, use, and control of the natural resource. The Conflict has become a problem because the governance mechanisms and traditional institutions for managing and resolving the conflict are not effective. Yet, the rivalry to control natural resources (land) had contributed to the eruption of violent conflicts in the State.

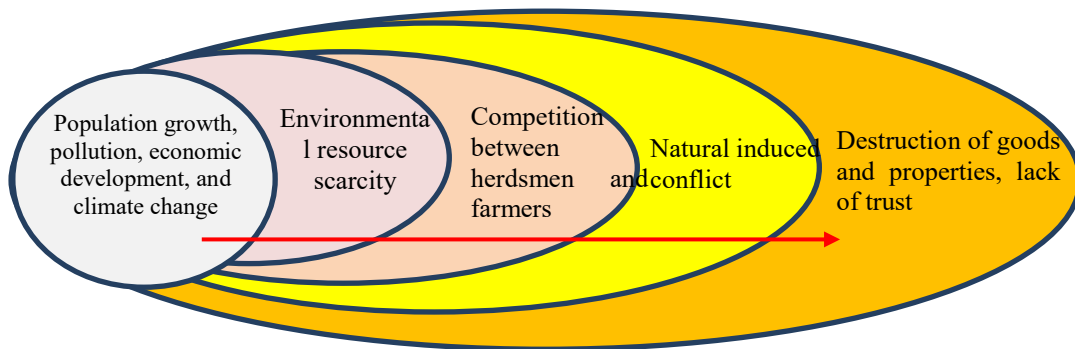


Figure 2.2: Theoretical Framework on Eco-Violence

2.7.2 Queer Ladder Theory of Social Mobility

Queer ladder theory of social mobility was also used to understand the nature of cattle rustling in the study area. This theory was influenced by an American Sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919-2011), who coined the idea of queer ladder to explain organised crime as a desperate strategy for socio-economic empowerment and social climbing. The theory was developed from the examination of the entry of Italian-American criminals into organised crime. Daniel, (1953) observed that the Italian community has achieved and political influence much later and in a tougher way than earlier immigrant groups. The children and the grand children of the Italian Immigrants were excluded from the political ladder, as such they devised an illicit way of getting wealth. Secondly, ethnic succession emerge as a group replaces the other on the queer ladder of crime. The earlier group becomes responsible and based on the legal wealth the new one relies on syndicated crimes.

The theory has been widely used by scholars to understand contemporary organised or syndicate related crimes (Emmanuel, Bunei, & McElwee 2016; Okoli & Okpaleke 2014; Okoli & Orinya, 2013).

The assumptions of Queer Ladder Theory are as follows:

- (i) Organised crime is an instrumental behaviour, a means to an end,
- (ii) It is an instrument of socio-economic advancement,
- (iii) It is a means to accumulate wealth and build power (Daniel, 1953).

Organised crime is a centralised initiative undertaken by criminal organisations like cybercrime, mafia, terrorism, gangs, crime syndicates, who are motivated by ill-gotten wealth or political motives (Lusthaus, 2013). Literature has established that criminals use cattle rustling to pursue their own economic agenda at the expense of the majority, the livestock owners (Emmanuel, Bunei, & McElwee 2016). Corroborating the above, cattle rustling is mostly committed for financial gains by syndicate within the local communities, cartels of agents, merchants and foreign accomplices (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Furthermore, cattle rustling has reached extraordinary level and is being carried out on a much more organised scale as stolen livestock are barely recovered after rustling (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). This, therefore, confirmed cattle rustling as an organised rural crime.

In Kenya, there is yet increasing evidence that cattle rustling is becoming a more sophisticated and organised crime that is initiated, planned, and executed by networks of entrepreneurs (Bunei, McElwee, & Smith, 2016). The cattle rustling has been degenerated into a pattern of organised crime with huge criminal complexity, recurrent

and efficiency. This, therefore, established the insider knowledge for cattle rustling to be successful. Cattle rustling requires the participation and knowledge of rural populace because of their necessary skills like how to herd and control animals, knowledge of markets for resale of the cattle, mastery of the terrain, and knowledge of the rural geographical landscape (Smith & Mcelwee, 2013). Against this context, this study adopts this theoretical approach to understand cattle rustling as an organised rural crime.

Although the theory has explained organised crime, but it was criticised for lacking empirical support. The theory argued that blockage of opportunity was the cause of organised crimes, however, serendipity can also lead to organised crime.

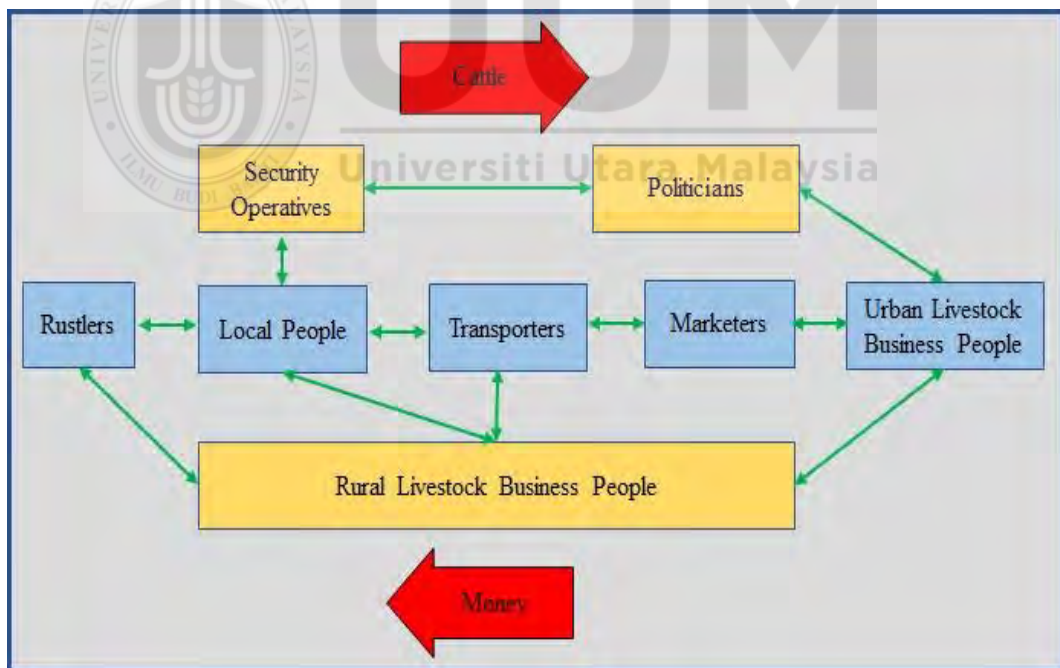


Figure 2.3: Cattle rustling syndicate

2.7.3 Securitization Theory

Securitization theory, as a social constructivist technique of conceptualising security, was first presented by its proponents like (Buzan, Weaver and de Wilder, 1998). The theory became prominent after the second world war because of some observations on the traditional way of solely using military on security advanced by the Copenhagen School (Šulović, 2010). Securitisation is the inter-subjective formation of an existential threat which demands crucial and instant attention, as well as the use of extraordinary actions to prevent this threat. Security is represented as a broad concept having to do with economic, environmental, military, societal, and the political sector at the global, regional and local levels (Buzan, Weaver, and de Wilder, 1998). Furthermore, Thierry (2011) sees security as a speech act that entails negotiation between the speaker (actor) and the audience on the implementation of security.

Securitization theory is formulated based on the following four assumptions. There should be: (1) a securitization actor, the leader that make the categorical security statement; (2) An existential threat, an issue or object identified and agreed to be potentially harmful; (3) thirdly, a referent object, an object that is being threatened and needs to be protected. Lastly, (4) an audience; that is, the target of the securitization act that needs to be convinced and receive the matter as a security threat (Buzan, Weaver, and de Wilder, 1998).

The Copenhagen School is based on the broad conceptualization of security politics that is meaningfully confronting the traditional objectivist view of threats that

underpinned the realist version of security (Homer-Dixon, 1994). The Copenhagen School describes this social interaction as an oratorical one: a discursive conversation between a securitizing actor and the audience in relation to an object, the referent, and that which threatens it.

The goal of the Copenhagen School are as follows: Based on the strong idea of the nature of security, securitization studies intend to gain a progressively exact understanding of who securitizes, on what matters (threats), for whom (referent objects), why, with what results and under what conditions (what explains successful securitization)” (Buzan *et al* 1998). Security is about existence, and the protection of peoples’ lives. It is when a matter is presented as constituting an existential threat to a specific referent object, explains the use of extraordinary measures to tackle the problem (Buzan, Weaver, de Wilder, 1998).

The sociological interpretation of securitization is a strategic procedure that occurs within and as part of an arrangement of circumstances, with the condition, the psycho-cultural nature of the audience, and the power presented by the speaker and the listener at the point of interaction (Thierry, 2011). Furthermore, securitization actor is subject to two different types of supports: moral and formal. They can agree or not. It however, the more they agreed, the more probable the public matter will be effectively securitized.

2.7.4 Criticism of Securitization Theory

Although the framework is sophisticated and has created much academic interests and brought about several critiques to further and specify the framework to increase its logical consistency and explanatory power, the theory still has some shortcomings. The securitization framework focus was narrowly made on the speech of dominant actors, most often political leaders encourage an understanding that securitization is only happening when there are broad interventions of those who are institutionally legitimate to talk on behalf of a political community. Thus, the emphasis is on the speech and its per influential power to create security. Concurrently, the securitization theory puts a singular emphasis on the acceptance of the audience which is demanded to be vital in the successful securitization procedure. Contextual factors term facilitating conditions by the Copenhagen School assist to clarify why some securitizing advances are more likely to be agreed to by the audience than others. These facilitating situations can either help or hinder securitization nonetheless are not conceptualized as constitutive of the speech acts, which is different from the assertion that security is a social construction. There is anxiety between understanding securitization as a productive procedure by concentrating on the formative power of the speech act and as a constructed process by stating that security is inter-subjectively constituted.

Notwithstanding the criticism, the theory has explained the problem under study. The activities of cattle rustlers in rural communities of Kaduna State have raised a serious national question for the existence and survival of Nigeria as a nation state. Failure of

the state to protect and prevent cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State and Nigeria, in general, has led to serious security threat leading to rural-urban migration, abandonment of economic activities, the conflict between herdsmen and farmers, and most importantly loss of human lives and cattle. Muhammadu Buhari, the president of Nigeria inaugurated Operation Flush, charging the military with the responsibility of fighting the menace in the north-west made up of Zamfara, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, and Kebbi states. In Benue State, cattle rustling has constituted a threat to the existence of rural communities because of the frequent raids and conflicts between farmers and herdsmen. As a result, the governor and the state assembly made anti-grazing laws to prevent free movement of cattle, an attempt that triggered more conflicts in the state. In short, that the declaration and laws made did not effectively prevent cattle rustling. This, therefore, made cattle rustling an existential threat.

If cattle rustling is effectively securitized in Kaduna State, it will receive disproportionate attention and resources compared to all other social problems. Furthermore, the successful securitization of cattle rustling in the state using extraordinary means like declaration of state of emergency and using full military might to control the menace. However, in his submission, Ahmed-gamgum, (2018) of the view that states in Nigeria should no longer depend entirely on the military means to prevent violent crimes like kidnapping, herdsmen and farmers conflict, cattle rustling, armed robbery, etc. They should also concentrate on educating their citizens, improving their economic infrastructures which will lead to security.

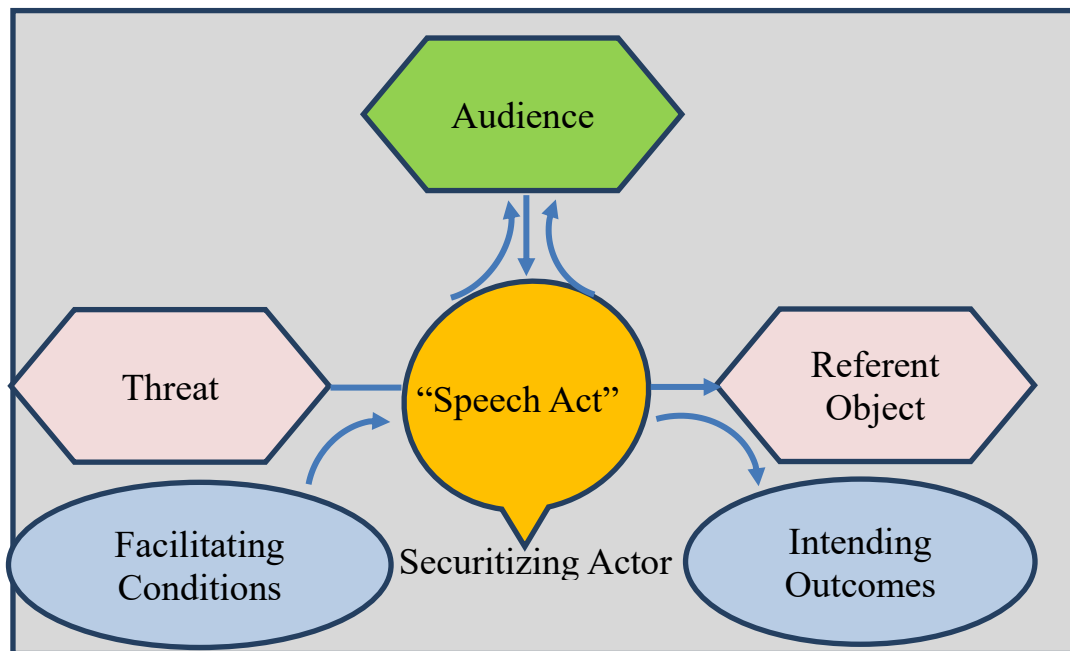


Figure 2.4: Theoretical Framework on Securitization
 Source: Buzan, Weaver, and de Wilder (1998).

Using the above framework, the understanding of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State is clear. Cattle rustling has become an existential threat in Nigeria from the beginning of the return of democracy in 1999 to date.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter focuses on the literature related to the nature of cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of rural communities. Some of the topics highlighted are the nature of coexistence in the rural communities, the nature of cattle rustling, socio-economic effects of cattle rustling on the people, provision of social amenities to ensure the well-being of rural communities, and the efficacy of the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches. We noted the research gaps so created. Finally, issues

relating to Eco-violence, Queer Ladder theory of social mobility, and Securitization theories were also reviewed.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology used in the study. It describes the procedures used to carry out the research on the phenomenon under investigation (Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State, Nigeria: An Examination of Its Nature and Effects on the well-being of Rural Communities in Kaduna State) and the means of obtaining the necessary data to accomplish the data at hand. Other important sections of the chapter include qualitative research methodology, research method, case study, the method of data collection, interviews, observation, choice of the research participants, demographic data, data analysis, validity and reliability. The aim is to provide a justifiable and scientific method used in this research endeavour.

3.2 The Philosophical Assumptions of the Study

In social research, philosophy relates to certain ideas or beliefs that one is inclined to while conducting a social research (Creswell, 2013). These set of ideas and beliefs provide the basis for proper understanding of the nature of the types of the research to be conducted (Merriam, 2009). Researchers usually get familiar with these ideas and beliefs from their educational background as well as conference attendance, seminars, and workshops. To get better understanding of the philosophical assumptions,

researchers also rely on journal articles and textbooks (Creswell, 2013). Again, lectures, projects or thesis, interactions with supervisors, ideas from recognised scholars in the field of a specific discipline also play a good role in shaping the philosophical assumptions of a researcher.

A combination of all these factors has provided the basis for the philosophical justification guiding this research. The philosophical underpinning of this research is interpretivism /social constructivism. Interpretivism, as a procedure in social research, began with the work of idealists like Immanuel Kant, Weber, Edmund, etc. They are of the belief that the world cannot exist autonomously of ideas (Löwith, 2003). Furthermore, the world must be interpreted and contextualized (Glesne,2016). This philosophy holds the assumptions that understanding the world individuals live is sort by them. Moreover, subjective meanings of experiences are developed by individuals (Creswell, 2009). The interpretive approach assumes that social life is founded on social interactions and socially constructed meanings (Neuman, 2006). This research approach entails the fact that the researcher will serve as an instrument and information is collected in their natural forms (Glesne, 2016). Data for this research will, therefore, be interpreted from the findings.

For this purpose, the social constructivism approach guides this study. The constructionist's orientation believes that there is no single reality. On the contrary, it is the people's belief and interactions create reality (Neuman, 2006). Reality, therefore, comes to be through social processes because of social interactions. To constructivists, people seek the understanding of the world in which they work and live and they

construct subjective meanings of their experiences with things or objects. These meanings are numerous and varied, making the researcher to investigate for the difficulty of perspectives rather than tampering with the meaning of a few ideas or classifications. Hence, the purpose of qualitative research is to focus further on the perspectives of the participants on the conditions (Creswell, 2013). Consequently, the assumptions of ontology, epistemology, rhetoric, axiology, and methodology philosophically direct this research.

This research, therefore, addresses the research problem considering the philosophical assumptions in accordance with social constructivism. The assumption of ontology that relates to the nature of reality was examined in agreement with the problem of cattle rustling and its effects on rural well-being in setting the step for the explanation for qualitative methodology. The next step in the research is the epistemology. This sets in because this research justifiably acknowledges the participants knowledge on how investigation on cattle rustling explains its nature and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities in Kaduna State. This, therefore, explains the subjective nature of the study. Accordingly, axiological assumptions suggest that this research endeavour be value laden since the data was sourced from the participants' understanding and experiences of cattle rustling in the study area. The rhetorical assumption explains the choice and the use of language from the beginning of the research: that is the introduction, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives the whole report of the study shows the qualitative methodology contextual. Lastly, the methodological assumptions specify how knowledge was sourced from the

participants to answer the research questions. The approach adopted is a qualitative one that seeks to study a contemporary social problem.

3.2.1 Ontological Assumptions

Ontology basically explains how reality is perceived in a research endeavour. Therefore, Ontological assumption interrogates the nature of reality and that of human beings' nature in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Relevant to this research endeavour. The nature of reality is subjective owing to the phenomena under study. Studying cattle rustling call for the subjective method of the reality because of its complexity, criminal and secretive nature of its operation. Furthermore, cattle rustling is understood as a complex business with a network involving community members, security agents, people in other businesses, rural and urban criminals (Manuel, Bunei, & McElwee, 2016). Thus, the analysis and understanding of cattle rustling require a very thorough and cautious investigation because it is a concept with multiple realities.

The subjective nature of reality as interpreted by this research aligns the study towards the symbolic interactionists' perspective. Human beings actions toward things are contingent on the attachment of a meaning to those things because of their social interactions (Aksan, Kisac, Aydin, & Demirbuken, 2009). These include all physical objects and institutions. Again, the meaning of such objects and institutions arises out of the social interaction. These meanings are held in and adapted through an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he comes across (Hammersley, 1990). As a result, the complex and secretive nature of cattle rustling

and its effects on rural well-being have made this study to adopt the qualitative approach or methodology.

3.2.2 Epistemological Assumptions

In research, epistemology refers to the nature of knowledge (Merriam, 2009). The most significant subject addressed by the epistemological assumption is about what is referred to as knowledge and gaining what a researcher wants to understand. Epistemology is concerned with serving as the philosophical foundation for determining what kinds of knowledge are conceivable and how we can make sure that they are both legitimate and adequate (Crotty, 2003). To answer the research questions advanced in this study, collecting face-to-face knowledge and understanding of key informants is important. Thus, the first-hand key informant's views provided the subjective evidence used for the in-depth understanding of the problem under study.

3.2.3 Axiological Assumptions

The axiological assumption is an ethical consideration in qualitative research. In ethics, questions like how an individual will be a moral person in the world are usually asked (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Taking a trend from the epistemological angle of this research, values were glaring because of the nature of the social problem and the culture involved, since the study interacted with the stakeholders whose value were not detached. In addition to that, researchers value is clear in social constructivism though values are looming in all forms of research (Creswell, 2013). The interaction between the researcher and the key informants, therefore, make this research to be

value-laden and as a result, informed its suitability to qualitative research method. Here, the researcher obtained the subjective views of the key informants from the rural populace in Kaduna State, Nigeria on the nature and effects of cattle rustling on their well-being. Apparently, the subjective views of the key informants involve getting their understanding, experiences and the meanings they attached to the issues of cattle rustling. Researchers in qualitative research acknowledged the value-laden nature of their studies and report correctly, and thus, appropriately positioning themselves in the study (Creswell, 2013). As a result, this study has properly tracked down values and biases. Again, information and reactions during interactions were all noted to reduce value judgement. The use of various sources of data has reduced the biasness and value judgement of this research endeavour.

3.2.4 The Rhetorical Assumptions

The flow from epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions in this research necessitated the usage of some literary signs as are apparent in this study. The use of words like *exploring, understanding, examining and describing and in-depth knowledge* resounds throughout this research provides a reason for the rhetorical assumptions of this research. Rhetorical assumptions indicate the choice of literary markers in research (Creswell, 2013). Such assumptions answer questions on the usage of the terms to depict the qualitative methodology of this research.

3.2.5 Methodological Assumptions

The research design is a very important component of any scientific inquiry. In the view of Clark & Creswell (2015), qualitative research designs are a set of processes for gathering, analysing and reporting data in a form of text or image to answer the set research questions by exploring key informants' views. Creswell (2009), has explained research design as a proposal and a plan of research which involves the linking of philosophy, approaches of inquiry and precise methods to be used in a specific research. Furthermore, qualitative approaches are applied to give more improvement on theories when there are insufficient theories for specific populations or the current theories are not sufficiently mapping the difficulties of the problem being studied (Creswell, 2013). This, therefore, implies that in designing a qualitative research, the philosophical worldview of the study must be taken into consideration. Qualitative research is mainly suitable for studying personal, group or subtle problem (Keyton, 2015). Hence, this research design can provide the researcher with a blueprint on how to collect data, analyse and report findings in their qualitative studies.

Studies have been conducted on cattle rustling (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Alani, 2014; Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016; Schilling *et al*, 2012; Simelane, 2005; Schilling, Opiyo, & Scheffran 2012). However, the studies are either conceptual that they concentrated on data collection using the secondary method with no appropriate data analysis tool or lacking in scope by concentrating on the loss of human life and properties alone. Thus, this research fills this gap to justify its use of the qualitative methodology. This research explains the experiences and understanding of the key informants on how

they interpret their experiences and the meanings attributed to the experiences on the investigation of cattle rustling in Kaduna State.

This study believes that rather than focusing on the loss of lives and properties as investigated by many researchers, the work is more interested in understanding the nature, effects, and the effectiveness of cattle rustling preventive approaches in the study area. By doing that, the research expects the whole process to be inductive in nature, concentrating on understanding and eventually the product of the study will produce rich and adequate description (Merriam, 2009). In summary, this research methodology is based on an inductive approach.

3.3 Justification for Qualitative Research Method

To understand cattle rustling and its effects on well-being of the rural dwellers, a case study research method was used for data collection. The research is exploratory in nature, this type of research is used to tackle new problems on which little or no preceding researches have been undertaken (Brown, 2006). Cattle rustling is an emerging trend in Nigeria as little researches have been conducted into it, particularly relating to the menace that it constitutes to the victims. Thus, an exploratory research of this type is being conducted to determine the nature of the problem.

The choice and suitability of adopting qualitative research to investigate the problem under study cannot be overemphasized. The reasons are: the use of this approach allows the researcher to access data from the herdsmen and farmers who are found

scattered around the remote communities of Kaduna State. Furthermore, most of the people living in the rural communities of Kaduna State can neither read nor write. Thus, the most suitable option to get adequate data from the key informants and in their native languages is to fall back on qualitative research. Secondly, the five philosophical assumptions - ontology, epistemology, axiology, rhetorical, and methodological discussed at the beginning of this chapter also underscore the researcher's choice of the qualitative research approach (Creswell, 2007). The above assumptions clearly explained and justified the rationale behind the choice of the method.

Thirdly, qualitative research allows the researcher to observe, understand the physical environment and victims' feelings in the process of data collection. This will enhance the validity and reliability of the data collected. Fourthly, cattle rustling is a criminal behaviour that is not suitable to be studied using survey method because it is a complex crime that involves villagers, urban dwellers and businessmen (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014). Using any other method would have not only affected the quality of the research but also that would have exposed the researcher himself to the danger of being harmed by the cattle rustlers during data collections.

The Qualitative research method remains the best in exploring information in its natural setting (Park & Park, 2016). The use of this approach has allowed the researcher access data from the stakeholders, the rural communities, the local government chairman, the security personnel, traditional leaders, leadership of the

herdsmen, farmers, experts on the field, the security adviser to the governor of Kaduna State, cattle rustlers, and members of vigilante groups. In addition, the nature of cattle rustling can only be explained by people who have the experience of the problem. As such, this research relies on the information from the key informants on the menace of cattle rustling.

3.4 Population and Sampling Procedure

A population is the entire individuals, objects with shared elements or units of interest (Creswell, 2012). The population of this research, therefore, comprises all folks living in the rural communities of Kaduna State. Furthermore, security personnel, local government chairmen, security advisers, and academics who are experts in cattle rustling and herdsmen/farmers conflict are also part of the population. A sample is a portion of individuals or participants carefully chosen from an entire population for the study purpose (Creswell, 2013). In perfect circumstances, the sample represents the entire population (Creswell, 2012). Sample size remains one of the worrisome challenges confronting qualitative researchers. However, most qualitative researchers are of the view that saturation level during data collection is the most accepted means of determining sample size in qualitative research (Mason, 2010; Bernard, 2011; Draper *et al.*, 2012). Saturation is a stage in which data collected no longer reveals different information from the initial one (Draper *et al.*, 2012). That is a situation where the researcher no longer collects new information in the field. In qualitative research, the sample needs not be much in number. For Bernard (2011), the perfect standard for sample size in qualitative research is to interview to a convincing or saturation point.

To some scholars, there is no exact answer to specify the sampling size in qualitative research. Sample size is determined by what you want to investigate, the research purpose, the data that is useful and what is credible' (Clarke & Braun, 2013; Merriam, 2009). This, therefore, shows that sampling in qualitative research is not an issue of representative views. It is, nonetheless, a matter of information richness. Although, scholars like, Creswell, (2013) have suggested four to five cases in case studies, most of the scholars in research methodology have agreed on the nature of the research questions, richness of the data, and the saturation points. This study, therefore, applies the saturation means of determining the number of informants to be used. The sample size of this research endeavour as guided by saturation principles is as follows: Twenty (20) key informants were interviewed, and two focus group discussions of five (5) herdsmen and seven (7) farmers were conducted respectively.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling entails that the researcher consciously selects and recognises the sites and the individuals that can best explain the problem under study (Creswell, 2012). This, therefore, makes selection of participants in qualitative research to be purposeful (Creswell, 2012). Purposive sampling in qualitative research includes selecting information in rich cases and the availability of resources (Patton, 2015). The interest is to understand the research under study from the insiders' perspectives who are experienced as presented by the researcher (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research paradigm believes that participants in a research are to arise based on the purposeful

sampling technique. Seemingly, this entails the selection procedures of place, event or people in line with the suitability to offer the best explanation or understanding of the research's central phenomenon (Creswell, 2012). Decisions on who or what to be studied, type of sampling and the number of sites or key informants to be sampled need to be taken (Creswell, 2013). Purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about a phenomenon of interest (Clark & Creswell, 2015). This, therefore, shows that the researcher is an instrument that determined based on his knowledge and the eligibility of a participant.

In view of the above, this study is of the opinion that to best understand the nature and effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities in Kaduna State, the participants were intentionally and purposefully selected from the rural communities prone to cattle rustling and some security personnel in study area. This study at the proposal stage, did not clearly itemize and explain the participants with rich data. However, the strategy to conduct the interview in Chikun, and Birnin Gwari local government areas was conceived. As the researcher ventured into the field, the need to broaden the coverage of the study to another local government area (Giwa) that equally have bearings with the intent of the research was necessitated. As a result, the local government areas from which the data was sourced increased from two to three with the incorporation of Giwa Local Government Area.

Accordingly, the researcher purposefully selected Birnin Gwari, Giwa, and Chikun Local Government Areas of Kaduna State because of the prevalence of cattle rustling in those areas. The selection of the three local government areas was justified by the work of Momale (2016) which discovered that Birnin Gwari, Giwa, and Chikun local government areas were mostly affected by cattle rustling. Kachia, Kajuru, Kagarko, and Zangon Kataf have lower incidents of the problem.

3.4.2 The Snowballing Technique

This study applied the snowballing sampling strategy along with the wider purposeful sampling technique. Snowballing sampling is a form of purposive sampling whereby in the process of the study, the researcher required the participants to recommend others eligible for the interview (Creswell, 2012). This is mostly necessitated by the complexity and lack of proper knowledge of the phenomenon under study. Through the identification of the appropriate participants, other ones emerged in the local government areas where this research was conducted. However, collective efforts were made to ensure that the process of further recommendations of the participants did not cause biases in the selection principle. In this study, community heads and leaders of the herdsmen were purposely identified first as meeting the selection requirements after which they were requested to recommend other participants from their rural communities who were considered the best to answer the research questions. Furthermore, security personnel (Divisional Police Officers and head of the state security service) of the local government areas were interviewed and served as gatekeepers that identified other informants. The experts interviewed were selected

after careful consideration of their research interests and found them qualified for the study.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

Manifold sources of data are used in qualitative research. Data sources are often classified as observation, interviewing and documents (Creswell, 2014; 2012; Merriam, 2009). In agreement with the research, these sources were applied to answer the research questions. Choice of the qualitative research method above, necessitates the collection of primary data precisely through In-depth interview, observation and focus group discussions as methods of gathering reliable data that capture the range of information required in pursuance of the objectives of the study. These data collection methods were targeted at the rural community populace affected by cattle rustling, community leaders, security personnel and officials from both the local government areas and the state linked with the prevention of the activities of cattle rustling, leaders of the cattle owner's association and experts from the academia in order to come up with an all-inclusive view and genuine information on the nature of cattle rustling and how it affects well-being of rural communities in the study area.

3.5.1 In-Depth Interview

Interviews had assisted the researcher to understand the task set out to achieve, such as explaining the phenomenon, identifying the specific problem and evolving a theory on the issues that affect the problem or the research question (Sekaran, & Bougie, 2013). Furthermore, interview relates to a procedure whereby both the participants and

the researcher are involved in discussions having to do with questions related to the study (Creswell, 2012). For these reasons, semi-structured in-depth interview was designed and administered to both speakers of English and Hausa, the native language of the key informants, to the community leaders, herdsmen leaders, vigilante heads who do not understand the English Language. Furthermore, 2 police officers, 1 vigilante leader, 1 secret security officer, 1 local government chairman, 2 experts from the academia, 3 community leaders, 3 victims, 3 leaders of cattle owners, 3 cattle rustlers, 1 security adviser were interviewed. Twenty 20 key informants were interviewed. The semi-structured interview method was developed in Sociology and Anthropology as disciplines in social sciences for people's social realities to be elicited. Questions on semi-structured interview depends on social interactions that take place between the informants and the researcher (Fontana and Frey, 2005).

In the qualitative interviews conducted, participants were asked open-ended questions, and their answers or responses were recorded by the researcher. Furthermore, interview is an important method of conducting research within the qualitative methodology that ensures face-to-face conversations between the researcher and key informants (Merriam, 2009). Fundamentally, the use of an in-depth interviews in this research is to get an in-depth knowledge and comprehension of the nature of the cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities in Kaduna State. Depending on the interpretation and conception of the participants, the interview technique serves as a suitable method for collecting data for this study.

In this research, the interview schedule was designed and administered on all of the key informants made up of leaders of the herdsmen, community leaders, cattle rustlers, experts in the study area, the security adviser to the state governor and a local government chairman. The IDI were also extended to the security personnel like the police and the vigilante group leaders. The key informants were able to answer questions 1 to 4 except for cattle rustlers and security personnel that did not have much knowledge of the research question that dwelt on the nature of living in the affected communities.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

To have a common understanding of the targeted population, herdsmen and farmers made up the focus group in the study area. The convincing reason for the intention to conduct focus group discussion were to get information from people with the experience of the problem under study. Again, the method provides an opportunity for a flexible, free, and smooth arrangement for the members to offer answers that are expected to reflect honest ideas, opinions, and feelings of the key informants about the problem under study (Sekaran, & Bougie, 2013). The focus group interview was set in a semi-structured format. This allowed the key informants to discuss their experiences in detail. This study involved seven farmers and five herdsmen respectively from two separate rural communities. The focus group discussions were conducted in the rural communities of Birnin Gwari and Chikun Local Government Areas of Kaduna State, respectively.

The focus group discussion with 5 herdsmen was conducted in Chikun local government area and with 7 farmers in Birnin Gwari local government area. The researcher vigorously engaged the key informants with experience in guiding the interview discussions by stressing on some issues raised at the discussion. All research questions were addressed using focus group discussion. The discussions stressed on questions relating to the coexistence nature in the rural communities, nature of cattle rustling, socio-economic effects on the well-being of the rural community members, and the preventive strategies adopted by the Kaduna State government. The information was noted and recorded in the mother's tongue of the participants. The researcher guided the discussions while a trained note taker took the note. This was later translated and transcribed accordingly.

3.5.3 Non-Participant Observation

Usually, the observation method, be it participant or non-participant, entails orderly noting and recording of proceedings by the observer. Observation method is important for this research because it gathers information in its natural settings (Merriam, 2009). The use of non-participant observation in this research was informed by the quest to understand the feelings of the participants on cattle rustling and the effects it has on the educational and health systems in the study area. Such effort has enabled the researcher to observe the security presence or otherwise in the rural communities, and the facilities affected by cattle rustling. In fact, even at the point of Focus Group Discussion and the In-depth interview, the observation method still plays a vital role in observing the body language of the key informants (Marshall, & Rossman, 1995).

In conducting proper observation as a method of data collection, Creswell (2008) has summarized the following as the steps to take: To (a) identify the location to be observed; (b) identify what, when, and how long will the observation take; (c) identify observers role during the study; (d) notes should be taken during the observation; (e) identify the information to be recorded; and (f) it is the task of the observer to observe reflective and descriptive actions. Observation as a data collection method was used in the research. Affected schools, hospitals, deserted communities, and the communities were all observed. Data collected from the observation became complimentary in addressing research question 3 and 4 of the study.

3.5.4 Documented Sources

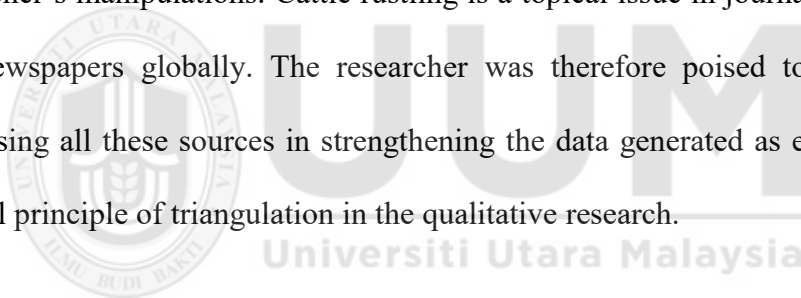
Document sources are employed in qualitative research as complimentary evidences to the data obtained from the interviewing and observation. Documents cover an array of materials ranging from written, visual, digital, and physical which are relevant to the research under consideration (Merriam, 2009).

Documented in qualitative research is an umbrella term denoting the use of other sources of data other than interviews and observation (Merriam,2009). In qualitative research, documents account for rich and factual data. Therefore, an array of data source is often brought together to represent document as a means for data collection in qualitative research. Included in documents are both the private as well as the public documents available for the qualitative research about the participants or the study area (Creswell, 2012). Public documents comprise of official memos, minutes of meetings,

public domain records, police records, association manuals, library's archival materials, newspapers and magazines.

Private documents, on the other hand, relate to records such as letters, calendars, diaries, autobiographies, personal notes, journals and jottings, photo albums and home videos (Creswell,2012; Merriam, 2009). The use of documents is very relevant to this study as documents abound on the phenomenon (cattle rustling) under study. Much is being written and reported daily on cattle rustling, locally and internationally.

Documents are ready-made means of obtaining research data that is independent of the researcher's manipulations. Cattle rustling is a topical issue in journals, edited books and newspapers globally. The researcher was therefore poised towards properly harnessing all these sources in strengthening the data generated as enshrined by the general principle of triangulation in the qualitative research.



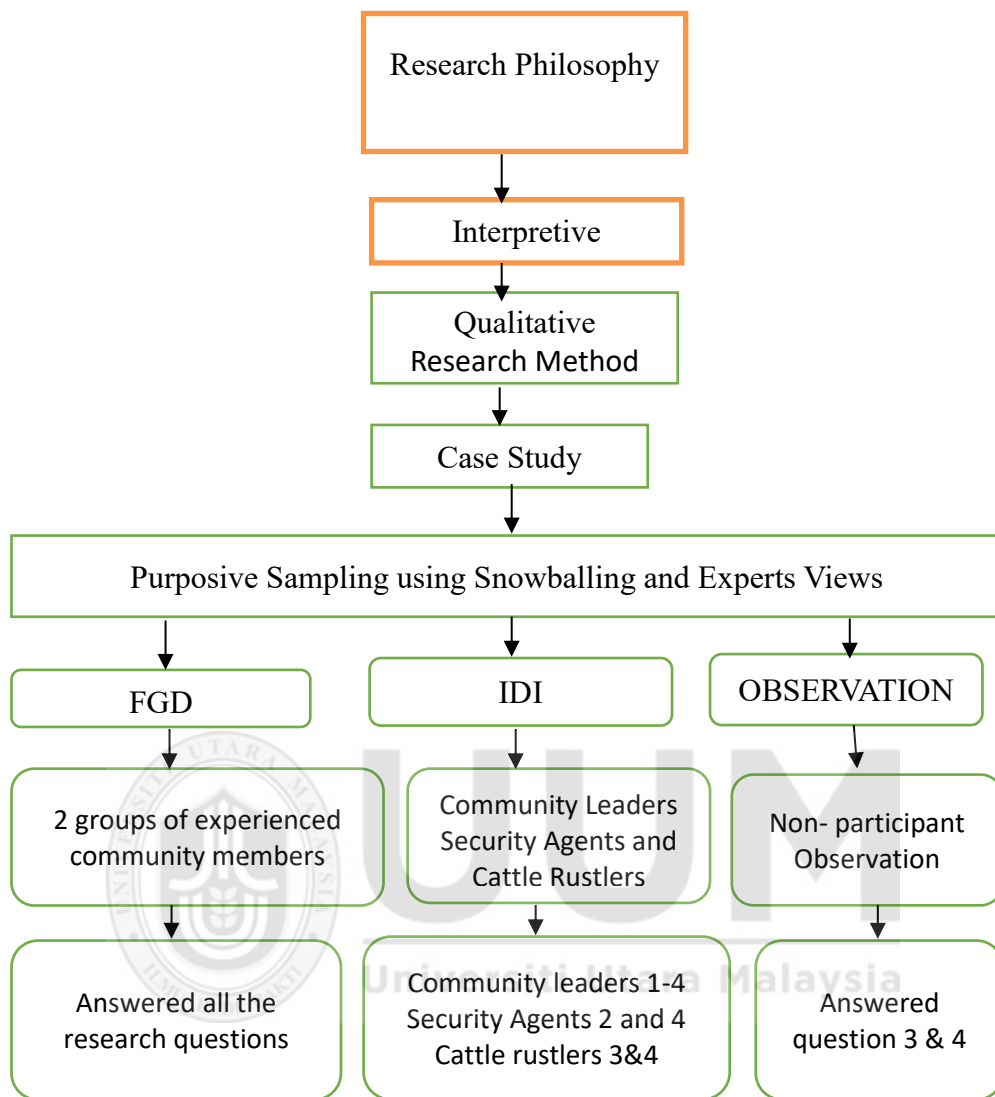


Figure 3.1: Summary of the Research Methodology
 Source: The Researcher, 2018

3.6 Techniques of Data Analysis

Data analysis and data collection cannot be discussed separately in qualitative research. In fact, this is one of the distinctive characteristics of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). The nature of qualitative research calls for data collection and analysis concurrently (Creswell, 2013). As the data are being collected, the researcher

using snowballing technique may not know the key informants or the community to get him. In fact, the nature of the question may change because of the experience from the field and the next informant that may be interviewed. Delaying data analysis to the end of data collection will cause the collection of unfocused data that will be repetitious and inordinate in the quality of the materials collected (Merriam, 2009). In qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument for the collection of data. The analysis starts during the collection stage (Creswell, 2012; Merriam, 2009). After the whole process of the first stage of the data collection and the analysis, the comprehensive analysis of the data is organised as the data is now fully convenient for use (Merriam, 2009).

Data analysis is an important feature of qualitative research since it is the phase of making meanings and interpreting what the key informants have said. To Creswell (2013), the overall procedures for analysing data in qualitative include preparing, organising, compiling, consolidating and data interpretation. As means of making sense of the data collected, it includes complex procedures to make meanings from the data. The process of data analysis in qualitative research is often inductive and comparative in nature, including doing a thorough work by going forth and back between pieces of data (Merriam, 2009). The aims are to advance insights, understanding and meanings from the data to answer the research questions. Parts of the data receptive to the research questions are usually recognised and organised into divergent codes. These steps are followed to observe recurring regularities. The procedure allows for the reduction of the data into manageable bits (Creswell, 2013).

The next step was that resembling of the codes into more conspicuous themes for further analysis which at the end will represents the data into figures, tables or forms of discussion (Creswell,2013; Merriam, 2009). Yin, (2013) has noted a five-phased cycle of qualitative data analysis consisting of: compiling the data, dismantling the data, reassembling and arranging, interpreting data and conclusion is accorded as an analysis. However, the general process for the qualitative data analysis as captured in many qualitative research texts, covers three levels. These levels are: the open coding, axial or analytical coding, and categories (themes) development (Merriam, 2009). Hence, this study has purposely worked through these three steps for the analysis of data during the data collection and analysis stages as well as during the intensive data analysis phase. Fundamentally, data analysis was initially done manually. Furthermore, to strengthen and demonstrate the achievement of the objectives of the study, Nnvivo 11, as the qualitative data analysis technique, was used. The Nnvivo 11, software allows the researcher to present the data in a more complex, rich, and descriptive nature. Finally, the report was produced by providing a coherent, concise, non-repetitive, logical and stimulating account of the meaning of data within themes.

3.6.1 Data Management

Analysing qualitative data begins with organising the data into manageable units. Many times, in qualitative research sizeable volume of data, is collected and consequently, without appropriately reducing the quantum into manageable quantity analyzing, such data will be problematic (Creswell, 2013). Managing of data implies

coding some recognised sections of the data for ease of analysis. In coding, suitable text or symbols are labelled to represent the data (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009) for manual or computer analysis. These symbolisations of data may include words, phrases, colours, letters, numbers or combination of two or more of these symbols. In compliance with the data management obligations in qualitative research, this research had prepared for the process both at the beginning of the collection and analysis stages. At the beginning of the data collection procedure, the analysis was concurrently conducted. Henceforth, analysis of the data commenced with the first set of interview transcripts. This had provided the study with more insights into the research. For instance, the first interview exposed all the stakeholders that have bearing with the study. Again, it revealed the level of prevalence of cattle rustling in Giwa Local Government Area. As a result, the study saw the inevitability of the inclusion of other participants in area which was not hitherto planned to be part of the study. Therefore, two experts in the field of cattle rustling, and Giwa local government chairman were precisely identified adding to the already purposefully selected ones. Thus, data management in this research has assisted to properly handle the subsequent interviews.

3.6.2 Data Transcription

The first stage of data management in doing qualitative analysis is data transcription. Evidently, the most effective means of recording an interview is tape recording (Merriam, 2009). Tape recording of interviews is good of preserving everything said by the informants for precise data analysis. Furthermore, it gives the researcher, as the interviewer, the opportunity to listen and review his or her questioning methods for

improvement in the succeeding interviews (Merriam, 2009). The recorded data from the interviews are then transcribed for further analysis. Transcription of data thus, is the procedure for rendering the data recorded from the interview into a text (King & Horrocks, 2010). Unavoidably, transcription serves as a forerunner to the data analysis of the interview. Verbatim transcription is usually regarded as the best means for analysing the recorded interviews (Merriam, 2009). However, data transcription from interviews is a difficult task and a time-consuming task (Merriam, 2009). As a result, many researchers seek the services of other research assistants in transcribing the data gotten from the interview (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, others tend to explore modern technology that is meant to make an automatic transcription of data using voice software and digital recording applications.

In this research, the digital recording tool was used to record while data from the interview sessions was personally transcribed by the researcher. This is to allow the researcher to have more familiarity and closeness with the data as well as for precise transcription (Merriam, 2009). The whole transcription of the interview was completed, including the noting of body language expressed by the informants. The researcher attempted to record the voice of cattle rustlers in the prison. However, there was a restriction placed on the researcher on entering prison with a tape recorder for security reasons. The prison authority assured the researcher of taking an inclusive note of all that was said by the informants. In addition to this, note taking was made as the essential part of all the interviews with those recorded. This was done to complement the recording and to serve as a backup to mechanical malfunctioning of

the tape recorder (King & Horrocks, 2010; Saldana, 2012). Basically, this approach has worked for the current study as notes taking complemented the audio, particularly where the informants did not speak out.

3.6.3 Ethical Considerations

There is the need for every research to consider ethics, more especially relating to confidentiality and anonymity. Ethics are usually related to the moral conducts of human beings (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002). In social research, ethics relates to the discussions in a moral sense, and the choice of the researcher to guide the whole research process. One of such ethical considerations in qualitative research bothers on the issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Often taken together, confidentiality and anonymity are related ethical issues, but do not imply the same thing. While confidentiality suggests maintaining privacy and not repeating what the participants reveal have to the researcher anonymity signifies protecting the identity of the participants (King & Horrocks, 2010). Qualitative research interview seeks to uncover and interpret the worldviews and experiences of the participants. Hence, absence of strict confidentiality may negate the basic assumptions of the social constructionist paradigm. Therefore, the ideal thing to do when reporting qualitative data is to observe the principles of anonymity by concealing the identity of the participants (King & Horrocks, 2010).

Attempts by the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the research participants on the nature of co-existence, cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities requires allowing participants to socially construct their

worldviews. This study, therefore, did not assure the confidentiality of all the data obtained from the participants because by so doing the validity and reliability of the entire research may be impaired. However, this does not mean that the sanctity of certain secret information obtained should not be maintained. The issue of cattle rustling, as an act of criminality, is very complex and sensitive. For this reason, the researcher needs to maintain collecting the data and reporting the findings. Furthermore, the right of the participants should be protected, and the researchers' act had to ethically handle the data with much respect. As the goal of qualitative research is interpreting and understanding the worldviews of the participants, utmost confidentiality implies that certain vital aspects of the participants' understanding and experiences regarding the phenomenon may be concealed.

The idea of confidentiality and anonymity in a work of this type involves keeping all individual information relating to the research participants' privacy and confidentiality. Another means used by the researcher to observe the anonymity of the research participants is using the adoption of fictional names (King & Horrocks, 2010). This is on table 4.1 on the demographic data of the informants. In other words, pseudonyms were used to represent the original names of the informants.

3.6.4 Thematic Analysis and Coding of Data

Data in research are meaningless unless they are analysed and interpreted. Therefore, analysing qualitative data involves making sense of the data. The process of data analysis in qualitative research is usually a multifaceted undertaking involving moving front and back among concrete data, description as well as interpretation, deductive

and inductive reasoning and abstract concepts (Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks 2010; Saldana 2012; Yin, 2015). Research questions for this study were answered by making sense of the data. Therefore, qualitative research places emphasis on the importance of the context and making senses of the data. The analysis must recognise the understandings, experiences and the interpretations of the informants' accounts (King & Horrocks, 2010; Merriam, 2009). It is the meanings and understandings that develop from making sense of the data that result to the findings (Merriam, 2009). Findings are reported as themes, sub-themes, and explanatory accounts cutting through the entire data.

In a qualitative study, there are no hard and fast rules in identifying themes as per in the thematic analysis. Nevertheless, common guidelines are apparent in the literature for the determination of themes. To begin with, the identification of a theme includes a concentrated effort on the part of the researcher to determine the theme in the data. The themes are not just picked from the data without procedures. Conversely, it involves the researcher making selections of what to be included and what to be discarded as well as how the information should be interpreted (King & Horrocks, 2010). Next in thematic analysis, the degree of recurrence is of paramount importance. Therefore, raising a matter once in a single interview may not be regarded as a theme. Thirdly, the themes must be receptive to the researcher's purposes for answering the research questions. Fourthly, there should be exhaustive categorization of themes (Merriam, 2009). This suggests that the researcher should be able to place all the relevant data in a theme (Saldana, 2011). Fifthly, themes in the research must be

mutually exclusive (Merriam, 2009) such that the evolving themes are different from one another (King & Horrocks, 2010). Though, it is occasionally unavoidable for an overlap among the themes. Finally, the themes should be obtainable in conceptual similarity which suggests the same level of abstraction posture.

The entire procedure for thematic analysis explained above begins with coding the data. Coding, in qualitative research, involves the recognition of the data segments that answers the research questions. A code can change from the informant's word which communicates perceptions, feelings or explains a phenomenon to as bulky as pages of observation field notes explaining an incident observed (Merriam, 2009). In addition, a code can come up from the informants' words or from an external source which includes terms from the researcher or the literature.

In this research, the general rules of the thematic analysis have been followed strictly. Precisely, the three phases of coding as identified in the literature in agreement with the views of scholars such as (Creswell, 2013; Saldana, 2011; Kings & Horrocks 2010). At the beginning of the analysis, the researcher reads the interview transcript very well before commencing to code it. This is to get more acquainted with the content of the transcript. Reading and understanding of all parts of the transcript of the study enables the researcher to identify portions of the transcript as well as other documents receptive to the research question. Those portions of the data were highlighted, and notes written against each. After assigning the notes for the entire transcript, notes that seem to be together would be regrouped (Merriam, 2009). The

aim and the emphasis at that stage would be to describe the data from the informants' account of the subject under study. Numerous descriptive codes (Creswell, 2013; King & Horrocks, 2010) have been developed, defined and redefined as the research progresses.

The next step followed by the researcher was to group the descriptive codes that originated from the interpretation of the meaning attached to the data. At that stage, the research went above mere description of data to interpret the meaning. This was achieved by grouping the descriptive codes that look alike in meanings and attributes by generating interpretive code for such groupings (King & Horrocks, 2010; Merriam, 2009). At this stage, the interpretive codes developed helped to reduce the number of the descriptive code developed earlier. The whole process was inductive in nature.

At the last stage, the interpretive codes were transformed into comprehensive themes (King & Horrocks, 2010; Creswell, 2013), and categories (Merriam, 2009). Through abstraction at a higher level, several themes characterising the key concepts were developed. Several of the interpretive codes were aggregated for the second time in forming the themes. These themes provide the findings to the research as supported in the analysis. As specified above, the procedure was tedious as, it involved thorough work, moving forth and back, to bring out meanings from the data. To this end, thus, the researcher is the main tool for analysis in qualitative research. The Nnvivo 11 was used to aid in data analysis. The use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) programmes, along with all other types of softwares (e.g.,

Nvivo, Atlas Ti, SPSS, etc.), do not analyse the data for the researcher. Rather, the computer programmes are used to assist in the data analysis (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2005).

3.7 Validity and Reliability of the Study

There are mixed opinions on the usefulness of validity and reliability in qualitative research. In the opinion of Neuman (2006), the issue of validity in qualitative research is rather contentious because of ambiguity in its process. Furthermore, Stenbacka (2001) is of the opinion that validity and reliability should not even be accepted as one of the standards for appraising qualitative research. Nevertheless, validity and reliability are very important to every scientific research endeavour be it qualitative or quantitative. To illustrate, Creswell & Miller, (2000), are of the view that validity is fundamental to qualitative research as it is centred on determining whether the results are precise from the viewpoint of the researcher, the key informants or the readers of the findings. Furthermore, ideas like authenticity, trustworthiness, and credibility determine validity (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

On the other way round, Clark & Creswell, (2015) hence identified four means of improving validity in qualitative research to include:

(a) Bracketing: It is a process of bracketing researchers' views and experiences of the central phenomena in the process of analysis. This protects researcher's perspectives from shadowing the viewpoint of the key-informants, thus improving the trustworthiness of the research findings.

(b). Triangulation: Triangulation involves a means of validating evidences from manifold sources to compare and verify the data collected for the study (Creswell, 2013). As earlier discussed, this study has employed focus group discussion, in-depth interviews and observations as sources for data collection. These are meant to improve and as a means to confirming the findings of the study (Merriam, 2009).

(c) Member Checking: This is a process by which the researcher, after collecting data, goes back to the participants to re-interview them to ascertain the accuracy of the information earlier taken from them. This was done in Giwa and Chikun Local Government Areas, where the police officers initially interviewed were re-interviewed.

(d) Audit: This is a process of involving individuals with the knowledge of the study to have a second look at the data to a peer review the whole work and identify the strengths and weaknesses of the research.

Reliability in qualitative research simply means consistency or dependability. In qualitative research, researcher's participation, interviews, document studies, photographs are used to record observations consistently. Validity deals with the authenticity of data. Qualitative research tends to strike a balance between the ideas, understanding, and statement of the researcher about the society and the happenings in reality (Neuman, 2006). After a careful study of the arguments surrounding validity, Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala (2013) have summarized the following as the widely used validity type in qualitative research:

Table 3.1
Validity and Reliability

Design validity

Theoretical validity: emphasis on the level of theoretical explanations fit the data generated, defensible and credible

Dependability: this type lays emphasis on the necessity of the qualitative researcher to explain the changes that occur in the setting and how it affects the way the researcher conducts the study.

Analytical Validity

Plausibility: It is concerned with whether findings, through explanation, description or theory agree with the data from the source.

Consistency: This is Emphasis for the procedures of confirming the stages of qualitative research by investigating items like raw data, process notes, and data reduction products.

Interpretive Validity: This is the exactness in interpreting the thoughts in the minds of the participants and the level to which the participants' thoughts, views, intentions, feelings, and experiences are correctly understood by the qualitative researcher.

Inferential Validity

Confirmability: This is the level to which the findings could be corroborated or confirmed by other researchers.

Source: Venkatesh, Brown, and Bala (2013).

In summary, validity, and reliability in qualitative research are all about honesty, fairness, truth, trustworthiness and credibility in carrying out the finding. Thus, this research endeavour used triangulation by sourcing data from different techniques to ensure the validity and reliability of the work. Again, two research assistants were trained, recruited and participated in the data collection. They also helped in validating the study. Equally important is that the researcher involved expert who are vast in related fields to serve as external auditors so that, the validity and reliability of this research endeavour would be improved upon.

3.8 Case Study (Kaduna State)

Case study one of the qualitative approaches to research, was employed to achieve the set objectives of this work. To Yin (1994), case study is used when the investigation is built on an empirical study that inquires on a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. The growing use of qualitative research method among Management, Social Sciences, and Sociology in current times is a clear indication of its effectiveness as a method of research inquiry. In fact, the case study approach as a qualitative research design was used since the early 1920s and it still dominates studies in the field of Sociology and other disciplines (Clark & Creswell, 2015). A case study is a qualitative research approach in which a contemporary case or a case during a specific period, real-life, are explored using in-depth data gathering (Creswell, 2013). The justification behind using a case study approach arises because of its capability to offer a good and a deep understanding of a specific multifaceted social phenomenon. In addition, a case study approach permits a qualitative researcher to emphasis on a situation or circumstance, nevertheless, retaining an all-inclusive worldview perspective (Yin, 2013). The case study research design is usually conducted in a place limited in terms of space, time, or some physical boundaries. The design is applicable to Kaduna State rural communities and the time for available this research.

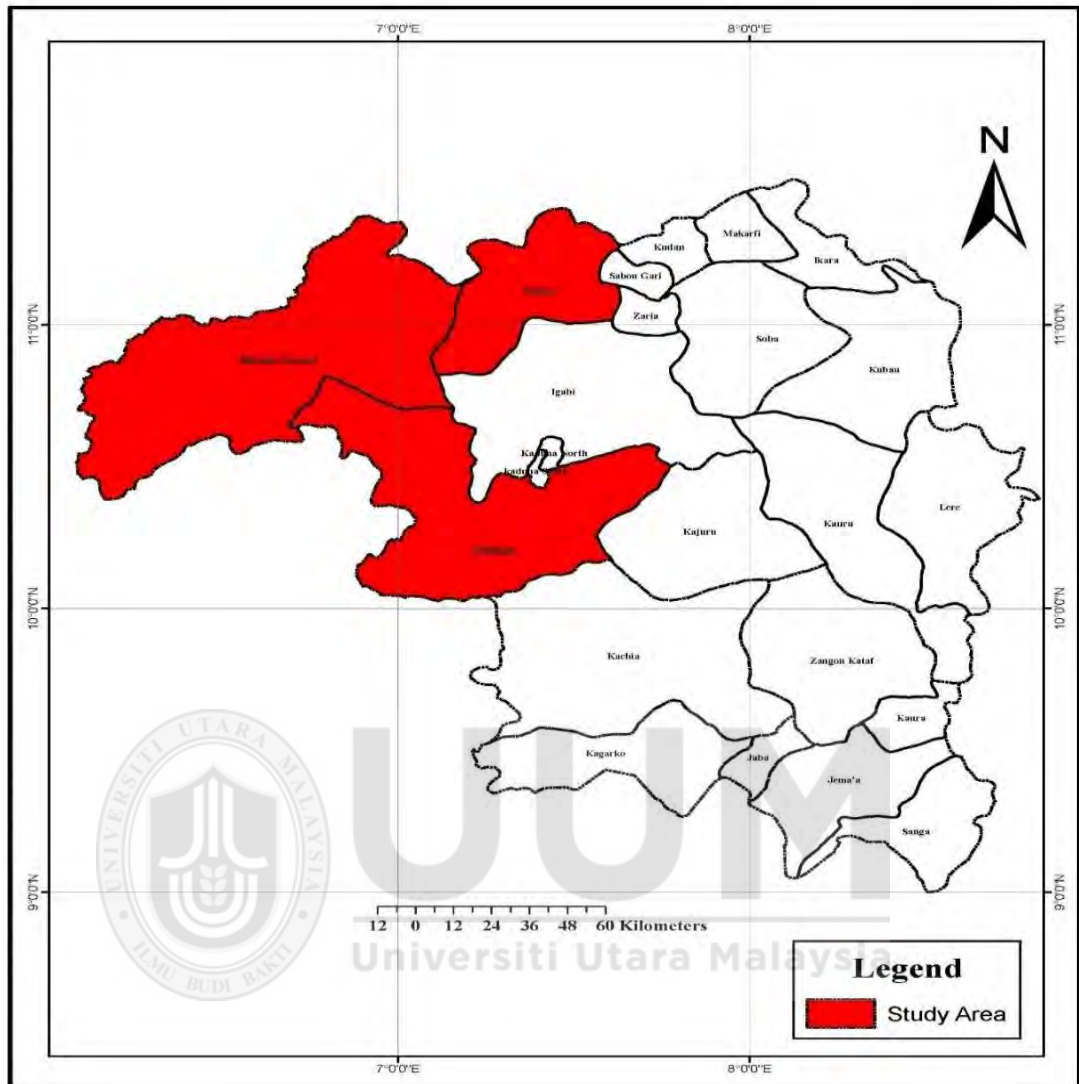


Figure 3.2: Map of Kaduna State Showing the Three Local Government Areas
 Source: Department Cartography Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna, (2018)

Kaduna State is in the Northwestern part of Nigeria. The State was formally the headquarters of northern Nigeria. It was created in 1975 during the administration of General Murtala Mohammed. The population of the State is about 6.3 million people (Nigerian Census, 2006). There are twenty-three local government areas in the State, out of which, only Kaduna south and Kaduna north local government areas constitute

the metropolis. Majority of the twenty-one of the local government areas are rural based. The State shares borders to the south with Plateau, Bauchi and Nasarawa states. To the north, it is bordered by Kano State. To the west, it borders with Zamfara and Katsina states. Lastly, to the east are Niger State and Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

The economic activities of Kaduna State are predominantly farming and livestock rearing. However, for the fact that the state was the headquarters of Northern Nigeria Religion, it is predominantly occupied by civil servants because of the institutions of higher learning and the location of tertiary institutions and ministries sited in the State headquarters and other local government areas. The state hosts high several high-flying institutions like the Nigerian Defense Academy Kaduna, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, Kaduna State University Kaduna, Nigerian College of Aviation Zaria, National Teachers Institute Kaduna, and the National Institute of Transport Technology, Zaria, etc.

The cattle rustling has become conspicuous in the State and most parts of Nigeria (Momale, 2016). The incidence of cattle rustling used to be more prevalent in three local government area of Birnin-Gwari, Chikun, and Giwa. However, the remaining rural-based local government areas have also experience of the problem in recent times.

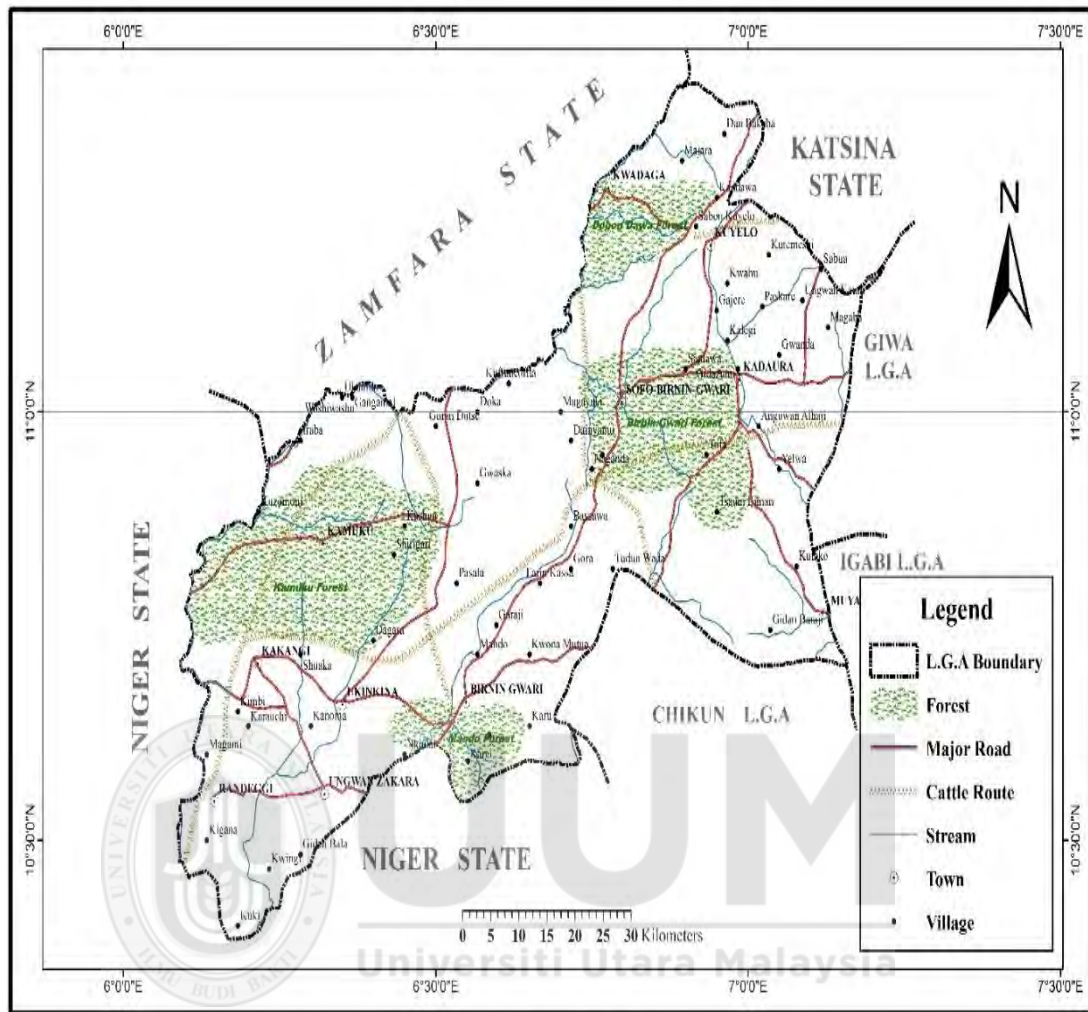


Figure 3.3: Map of Birnin Gwari Local Government Area
 Source: Department Cartography Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna, (2018)

Birnin-Gwari: The local government area is located along the Kaduna - Lagos Express Way, about 125 kms from Kaduna, the state capital. Birnin Gwari town, the Local Government headquarters, is located at 12°:20' North and Longitude 9°:10' east of the Greenwich Meridian. It covers an area of 6,185km. It shares boundaries with Kogo Forest Reserve in Kastina State to the east, and northeast of Giwa Local Government Area of Kaduna, Dansadau in Zamfara State. To the North, and to the she has borders West with Niger State. To the south she shares borders with Chikun Local Government

Area. The population of Birnin Gwari Local Government Area, according to the 2006 national population figures is 252,363.2 (National Census, 2006).

This is one of the local government areas of Kaduna State where cattle rustling is most prevalent. The local government is a host to one of the national parks (Kamuku) which was established in 1936 with a total area of 1,120 km². The park lies on the state's borders with Zamfara and Katsina states. Cattle routes linking the park with a neighbouring country like Niger Republic made the area to become a haven for hoodlums and cattle rustlers. Birnin Gwari local government area is made up of eleven political wards such as: Dogon-Dawa, Kakangi, Gayam, Kazage, Kuyelo, Magajin Gari I, Kutemesi, Magajin Gari II, Randagi, Magajin gari III, and Tabanni.

The economic activities of the people of Birnin Gwari are: farming, herding, mining, and trading with farming as the most dominant. This is not unconnected with the abundant agricultural and forest lands the local government area is endowed with. Maize, wheat, rice, guinea corn, and groundnut are the major crops produced in the area.

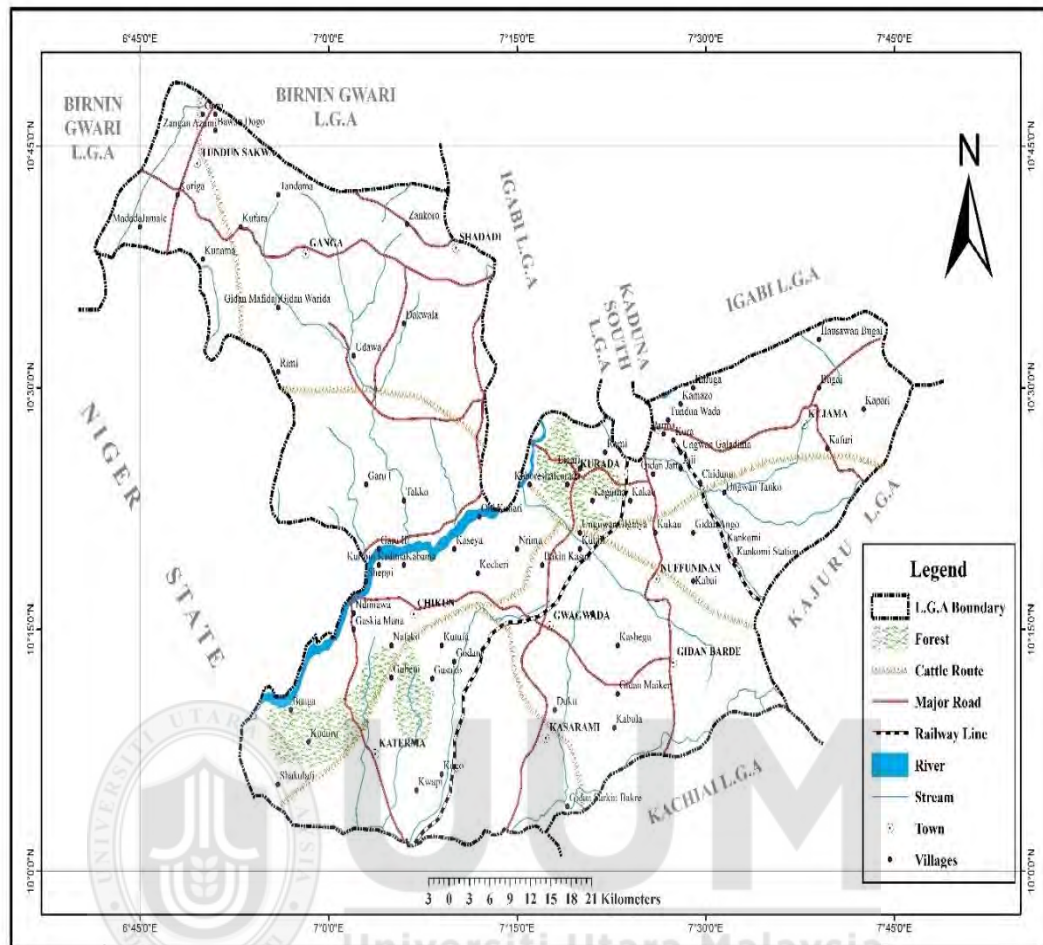
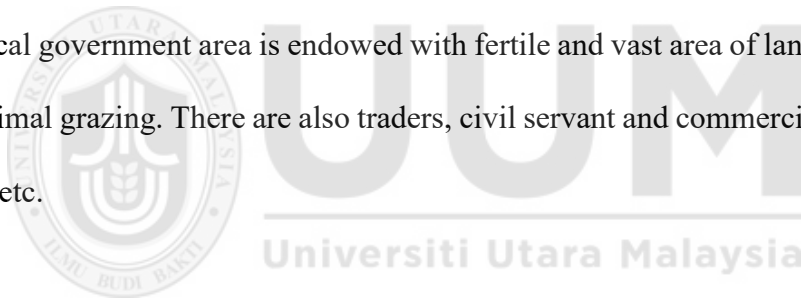


Figure 3.4: Map of Chikun Local Government Area
 Source: Department Cartography Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna, (2018)

Chikun Local Government is located Area in the southeastern part of Kaduna metropolis (Aboh, 2009). It covers an area of 4,645km² and has a population of 368,250 people (National Census, 2006). The headquarter of the local government area is Kujama. It is located about 15 kilometres away from the State headquarters along the southern Kaduna road. The local government area is under the leadership of a paramount traditional chief of the Gbagi Kingdom with 12 political wards as: Chikun, Rido, Gwagwada, Nasarawa, Kakau, Sabon-Gari, Sabon-Tasha, Kunai, Kuriga, Narayi and Unguwar Yelwa.

The local government area has a common boundary to the west with Birnin Gwari local government area, Niger State to the north and Igabi and Kaduna South Local government areas. Again, the local government area also shares a common boundary with Kachia local government area to the east. To the south, it shares a boundary with Kajuru local government area. The local government, area because of her proximity to the state capital is occupied by many ethnic groups -Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, and other Nigerian minority tribes. However, the Hausa and the Gbagi ethnic groups are the original indigenes of the area.

The local government area is endowed with fertile and vast area of land for agriculture and animal grazing. There are also traders, civil servant and commercial drivers, along others etc.



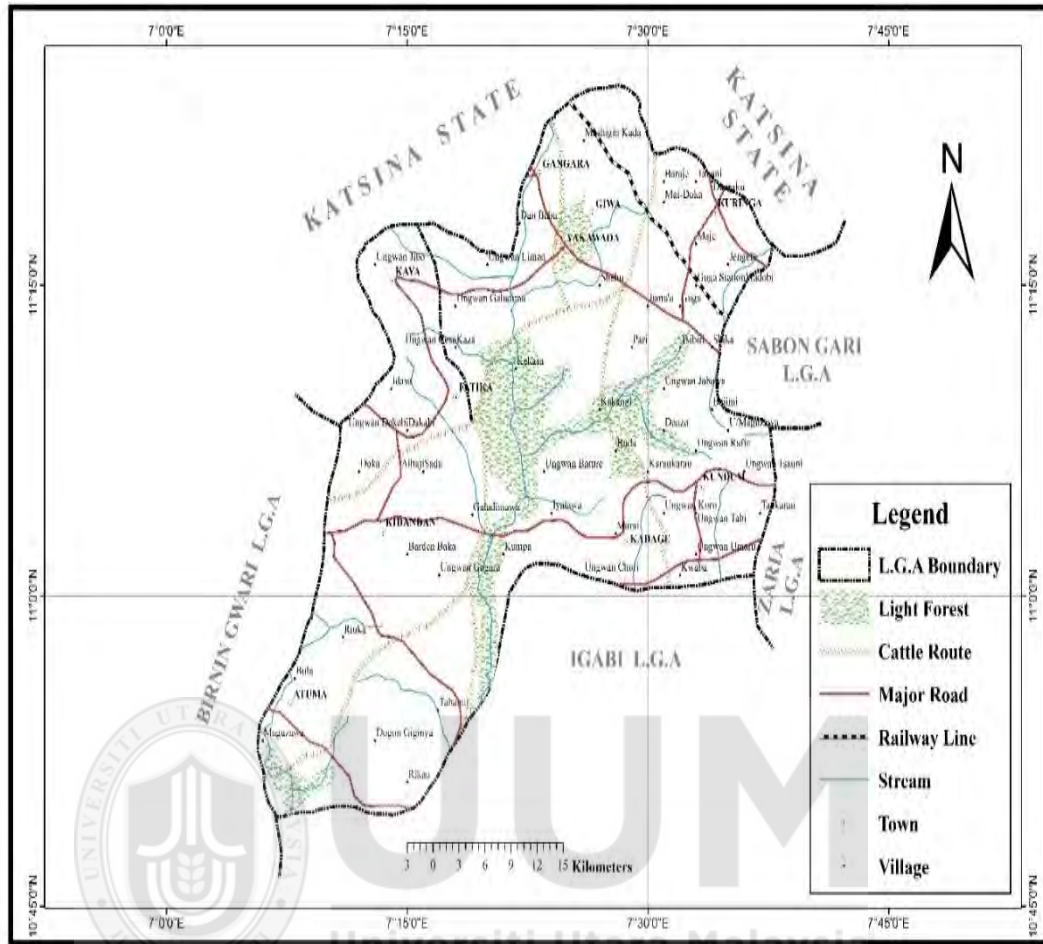


Figure 3.5: Map of Giwa Local Government Area
 Source: Department Cartography Kaduna Polytechnic Kaduna, (2018)

Giwa Local Government Area was created from Igabi Local Government Area in September 1991 during the military administration of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. The local government headquarters is Giwa town situated along the popular funtua road. The local government has eleven political wards namely: Danmahawayi, Gangara, Galadimawa, Giwa, Idasu, Kadage, Kakangi, Kidandan, Panhauya, Shika, and Yakawada. The local government is dominated by rural setting with only Giwa and Shika located in the suburban areas of the state. The land area

covered by the local government is 2,066 km² with a population of 286,427 (National Population Census).

The local government area shares borders to the north, with Katsina State, Birnin Gwari to the west Chikun Local Government Area, to the east, Sabon Gari and Zaria local governments, and to the south is Igabi Local Government Area. The main sources of livelihood for people in the area are: farming and animal husbandry. Crops mostly cultivated in the local government are soya beans, rice, beans, groundnuts, millets and guinea corn. The people of the local government are mostly Fulani and Hausa who are mainly Muslims. However, others like the Igbo and Kaduna State minority tribes, and Yoruba also exists in most of the villages participating in different types of businesses like motor cycle repairs, commodity trading and teaching. The Guga forest is located in the local government area.

Birnin Gwari, Chikun and Giwa local government areas were purposefully selected for the research because of the prevalence of the menace in the study area. The three local government have forests linking them with the country's Federal Capital Territory and the Kamuku Game Reserve (the largest forest in the country) where cattle rustlers stay to perpetuate their activities respectfully. This, therefore, shows that all the three local government areas share common boundaries and have forest located in them. These forests usually serve as a safe haven for the cattle rustler as they operate there without hindrance.

3.9 Structure of the Security Arrangement in Kaduna State

The Nigerian police force is the main executive armed of government shouldered with responsibility of providing security in Kaduna State, and Nigeria in general. Hence, cattle rustling is one of the crimes the police are made to prevent. The hierarchical arrangement of the Nigerian police at the State level are as follows:

Commissioner of Police (CP)

The commissioner of police is the highest-ranking officer in the state. The CP is in-charge of the administration and command of the contingent of the Nigerian Police in the State. The CP is appointed by the inspector general of the Nigerian Police Force and approved by the police service commission. The CP receive directives from the inspector general of police.

Deputy Commissioner of Police (DCP)

The deputy commissioner of police is the second highest ranking officer in the State police command. He / She stands in for the State commissioner police in the event of absence. He / she is responsible with execution of the administrative duties in the State command.

Assistant Commissioner of Police (ASP)

The Assistant Commissioner of police is the third in command in the hierarchy of the State Police Command. He / She stands in for both the commissioner or the deputy commissioner in the event they are absent. The assistant commissioner of police is always in charge of crime prevention.

Chief Superintendent of Police (CSP)

The chief superintendent of police is usually many in the state police command. They are usually administrators or rather supervisors in the Nigerian police. They are usually posted to the various local government areas as heads of the police division. He/She posted to a particular local government area is referred to as the Divisional Police Officer (DPO). The Chief Superintendent is answerable to the Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of the local government area he is posted to head.

Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) and Superintendent of Police (SP)

Deputy Superintendent of Police and Superintendent of Police are usually the second and third in command in charge of a Police Division. He/She can also be appointed as or deputise the DPO and is in charge of administration. Both the DSP and SP are answerable to the divisional police officer. They are usually responsible with for criminal investigations in the divisional office.

The last hierarchy are the Other Ranks / Rank and files: They comprise the Sergeant to the copra. They are directly connected with the cattle rustlers. The lower ranking police officer are responsible in the administration of justice and crime prevention at the divisional level. They report to the Divisional Police Officer. Hence, the purposive selection of the police officers at the rank of superintendent (DPOs).

3.10 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed richly on the philosophical assumptions, research methodology, centering on the sources used to obtain data on the nature and the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities in Kaduna State of Nigeria. To add to the quality of the research, Nnvivo11, as a qualitative data analysis software, was used to aid the thematic analysis manually done by the researcher.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the qualitative data presentation, and analysis based on the data collected from the two FGD sessions, the twenty in-depth interviews conducted, and the observations made in the three local government areas so selected. The analyses provide answers to research question one to four as well as the profile of the informants, interview protocols, main interviews, a summary of the themes, sub-themes, the informants coding, and the justifications for selecting the informants. The analysis is presented in a thematic form.

4.2 Profile of the Informants

Both the in-depth interviews (IDI), the focus group discussions (FGD), and the observation were used to collect the data. The In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 informants across the three local government areas. The informants interviewed were the senior security adviser to the Kaduna State governor, a chairman of one of the local government areas, divisional police officers, local government head of Division of State Security (DSS), experts in the area from the academia, vigilante group members, cattle rustlers, community and herdsman leaders. The two sessions of the focus group discussions were

conducted with the farmers and the herdsmen in Chikun and Birnin Gwari local government areas respectively.

Table 4.1 *The Demographic Data of the Informants*

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Demographic	Features	Number
Age	20-30	4
	31-40	1
	41-50	5
	51-60	12
	61-70	8
	71-80	2
Academic Qualification	No Formal Education	7
	Quranic Education	16
	Secondary School Certificate	4
	Degree	1
	Masters/ PhD	4
Gender	Male	32
	Female	0
Occupation	Politicians	2
	Experts/ lecturers	2
	Policemen	2
	Farmers	7
	Herdsmen	8
	Cattle Rustlers	3
	Vigilante	2
	Community leaders	3
Leaders of herdsmen	3	

From the table above, the ages of the key informants range from 20 to 30 years (4), 31 to 40 years (1), 41 to 50 years (5), 51 to 60 years (12), 61 to 70 years (8), 71 to 80 years (2). Majority of the informants are between the ages of 51 to 60. This is so because most of the victims and those with cattle rustling experience fall within the age range. Again, focus group discussions were made up of participants with similar experiences for better responses. And most of the informants who were between that age range (of 51-60 years) participated in the FGDs conducted. Furthermore, the highest qualification among the informants are those with Ph.D. and associated Degrees (5). Majority (16) of the informants have only qur'anic education, followed by the informants without any form of formal education (7). This shows that majority

of the rural populace do not have formal education. In fact, few of the informants who are bachelor's degree holders and above are security personnel, experts, and politicians who are not parts of the rural community but direct bearing and relevant to the study. The figure also shows that all the key informants are males. This may not be unconnected with the nature of the society where females are secluded and do not participate in most economic activities outside their houses. The occupation of the informants shows that eight (8) are herdsmen, while farmers are seven (7). Three cattle rustlers, 3 community leaders and 3 herdsmen leaders were interviewed. Lastly, 2 politicians, 2 experts from the academia, 2 police officers, 1 secret security officer, and 1 vigilante group leader.

4.3 Interview Protocols

The researcher followed some protocols before and at the points of conducting the interviews. Before the commencement of data collection, the researcher bought some writing and recording materials, such as higher education notebooks for notetaking and an I.C recorder for recording the interviews. Furthermore, the researcher also built some rapport with the participants, before the interviews proper started (Creswell, 2008). At the preparation stage of the research, eight principles as suggested by Maxwell, (2013) were adopted. They are: (i) choose a location with little interruption; (ii) give reasons for the interview; (iii) guarantee them of confidentiality; (iv) explain the setup of the interview; (v) indicate the duration of the interview; (vi) let them have your contact for any question; (vii) give them foreknowledge of the questions before you start the interview; and (viii) use an audio recorder to take the verbal exchanges.

The research began with the collection of a letter of introduction from the college (COLGIS) identifying the researcher as a bona fide student of Universiti Utara Malaysia undergoing a research on the nature and effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities in Kaduna State, Nigeria. That letter helped to introduce the participants to the community leaders. The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted between November 2017 and 6 March 2018, during which 20 informants were interviewed. Thereafter, two the FGD sessions were conducted with both herdsmen and farmers. Similarly, places for the interviews were carefully selected with little distractions and less noise to avoid distractions. Again, the researcher had to explain the rationale for data collection and the confidentiality of the information collected.

After the researcher had obtained consent from the informants, their voices were recorded using an IC recorder as a trained research assistant took notes with pen and paper to compliment the information in the voice recorder. However, prison officials turned down the request to record interactions with the cattle rustlers. Interviews with them were jotted in a notebook. Discussion with key informants lasted for less than 30 minutes. There was an exchange of contacts between the researcher and informants that have phones for follow up and further clarifications. Before the commencement of the interviews, the informants were implored to ask any question that may clear their doubts during the interaction. Majority of the informants expressed fears on the security of their persons. Thus, the researcher was made to use security personnel like

the police, civil defense, and traditional leaders from the local government headquarters as gatekeepers.

4.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an interaction between the researcher and the data. The data analysis is part of the procedure of research which should be in accordance with the research traditions. Analysing qualitative data includes interpretation of data through the following procedure Campbell, Mc Namara and Gilroy, (2004): (i) the real events; (ii) ability to explain for (iii) the event given by the participants and researcher; and the researcher's interpretation of the events. The methods employed in the analysis of qualitative research are coding which has to do with generating and evolving categories. In coding, the interviews are classified into well-defined and developed, categories which are later analysed (Campbell, *et al.*, 2004).

4.5 Main Interviews

The technique of data analysis in qualitative research includes a thorough analysis of transcribed interviews and documentation of new concepts. The next phase is the review of the interviewees and coding (Creswell, 2008). To get rich data for this research, 20 informants participated in the in-depth interviews plus the two FGD sessions that were conducted with both the herdsmen and the farmers. The 20 informants interviewed comprises the major stakeholders in the study area, such as: Local Government chairman (1), Divisional Police Officers (2), Local government head of divisional security service (1), The senior security adviser to the governor (1),

Table 4.2: *Summary of the Themes and Sub-themes*

Theme	Sub-theme	Informants
Nature of Social Coexistence	Harmony	23
	Conflict	23
Nature of Cattle Rustling	Cattle Rustling and Kidnapping	28
	Violent in nature	27
	Organised Crimes	16
	Predominantly Herdsmen	14
	Period/ Time of operation	23
	Rape	5
	Operate in group	23
	Effects of Cattle Rustling on the victims	Killing
Kidnapping		5
Trauma/Psychological Fear,		27
Economic Effects		17
Educational Effects		12
Poverty		20
Health Effects		5
Social Effects		15
Migration to safer place		18
Existing Preventive Approaches		Security Agents
	Vigilante	6
	Media Enlightenment	8
	Disarmament	7
	Border Security	5

Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

Table 4.2 above shows the themes, sub-themes and number of the interviewees that talked on a specific theme or sub-theme. Similarly, four themes and twenty-three sub-themes were recognised by the researcher. The first theme is on the nature of social coexistence. The sub-themes under it are social harmony and social conflict. The next theme identified by the researcher is the nature of cattle rustling. Under it are the following sub-themes: cattle rustling, and kidnapping, violence, organised crime, predominantly herdsmen, period/time of operation, rape, and operating in a group. The third theme is the effects of cattle rustling. The sub-themes are: killing, kidnapping, rape/Psychological fear, economic, educational, poverty, health, social, migration. The

fourth and the last theme is the existing preventive approaches taken by government to arrest the menace. The sub-themes under it are: security agents, vigilante group, media for enlightenment, disarmament and border security. Furthermore, for maintaining the confidentiality of the key-informants, the study used the following codes R1, R2 to R20 for IDI informants and FGD F1 and others above to represent farmers as informants. FGD H1 and above represent herdsmen. The table below shows the stakeholders interviewed, their demographic data and the codes used for them:



Table 4.3: *The In-depth Interview Informants and the Coding*

S/NO	Informants	Brief Bio-Data	Code
1	Cattle Rustler	Male, 26 years, no Formal Edu., Herdsman, Niger Republic	R1
2	Village Head	Male, 71 years, Quranic Edu., Farmer, Nigerian	R2
3	Divisional Police Officer	Male, 41 years, a master's degree holder, Security personnel, Nigerian	R3
4	Chairman Cattle Breeders Association (1)	Male, 55 years, Quranic Educ. Herdsman, Nigerian	R4
5	Chairman Cattle Breeders Association (2)	Male, 51 years, Quranic Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R5
6	D.P.O Police	Male, 46 years, GCE O' level Security Personnel, Nigerian	R6
7	Victim/ herdsman	Male, 46 years, no Formal Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R7
8	Vigilante Member	Male, 28 years, Quranic Educ., Farmer, Nigerian	R8
9	Victim/herdsman	Male, 67 years, no formal Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R9
10	Victim/ Herdsman	Male, 71 years, Quranic Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R10
11	Security Adviser to the Governor	Male, 55 years, Degree, R, Nigerian	R11
12	Cattle Rustler	Male, 23 years, no Formal Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R12
13	Community Leader	Male, 61 years, Quranic Educ., Farmer, Nigerian	R13
14	Expert/ Lecturer	Male, 53 years, Ph.D., a scholar, Nigerian	R14
15	Director Kaduna State Cattle Breeders	49 years, School Cert., Herdsman, Nigerian	R15
16	Head of a Vigilante Group	Male, 38 years, Quranic Educ., Farmer, Nigerian	R16

Table 4.3 Continued

S/NO	Informants	Data	Code
17	Village Head	Male, 43 years, Quranic Educ., Farmer, Nigerian	R17
18	Cattle rustler	Male, 20 years, no formal Educ., Herdsman, Nigerian	R18
19	Local Government Chairman	Male, 53 years, Ph.D., Politician, Nigerian	R19
20	Expert and Director Research Institute	Male, 61 years, Ph.D., Scholar, Nigerian	R20

Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

The table above shows the data and the codes of the informants that participated in the in-depth interviews conducted. Table 4.4 below presents the data and codes of the informants that participated in the two FGDs conducted by us.

Table 4.4: *Focus Group Discussion: Data on Informants and Coding*

S/NO	Informants	Data	Code
1	Farmer	Male, 62 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD F1
2	Farmer	Male, 58 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD F2
3	Farmer	Male, 63 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD F3
4	Farmer	Male, 55 years, Secondary School, Nigerian	FGD F4
5	Farmer	Male, 61 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD F5
6	Farmer	Male, 60 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD F6
7	Farmer	Male, 57 years, Secondary School, Nigerian	FGD F7
8	Herdsman	Male, 55 years, No Formal Education, Nigerian	FGD H1
9	Herdsman	Male, 59 years, No Formal Education, Nigerian	FGD H3
10	Herdsman	Male, 55 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD H4
11	Herdsman	Male, 61 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD H5
12	Herdsman	Male, 56 years, Quranic Education, Nigerian	FGD H6

Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

Table 4.4 above shows the data the code of the selected informants that participated in the Focus Group Discussion. After the interviews, (IDI and FGD) the study transcribed the recorded version of the interviews into themes and sub-themes for easy analyses.

Below is the justification for the selection of the informants.

4.5.1 Justification for Selecting the Informants

Two politicians, the senior security adviser to the executive governor of Kaduna State and the chairman of Giwa local government area were purposively selected as sources from whom to get data for the study. The adviser, as a retired army officer was the head of the joint task force created to prevent cattle rustling and other related vices in the State. The chairman of Giwa local government area, a B.Sc. holder in Sociology with PhD in Environmental Sciences was the head of the Kaduna State local government chairmen association. By virtue of the positions they occupied, they were in a better position to offer the researcher with rich information on cattle rustling and the existing preventive approaches used by the state government. They were parts of the monthly state regular security meetings and were directly involved in the phenomenon under investigation. As such the informants furnished the researcher with rich information that aids understanding of the efforts the Kaduna State government had been making to prevent the problem.

Three convicted cattle rustlers were also interviewed because they were at the centre stage of the study. The interaction with them helps in the understanding of the nature of cattle rustling in the study area. Thus, the researcher was able to strike a balance between the victim's submission and that of the culprits.

Two renown scholars from the departments of Rural Sociology and Political Science of the Faculty of Agricultural, and Social Sciences, from two prominent universities in northern Nigeria (Bayero University, Kano and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria),

constitute parts of the interviewees. They are experts who had conducted and published several researches on cattle rustling and herdsmen/ farmers conflicts respectively. They are very important to this research as they provided the researcher with some good information on the theoretical and practical issues relating to the nature of conflict in the rural communities, nature of cattle rustling, its effects and the governments' efforts in curtailing the menace, not only in Kaduna State but in Nigeria as a whole. Their submissions, based on their vast experiences, have, undoubtedly, enriched the study.

Two divisional police officers from two local government areas who were involved in the prevention of cattle rustling gave the researcher useful information on how the phenomenon is being tackled by the Kaduna State government and Federal Government of Nigeria. Information from the security officers helped to broaden the researcher's understanding of the effectiveness of the security agents involved in the prevention of the cattle rustling. Furthermore, local government head of Division of the State Security Services interviewed also gave vital information on the prevention of cattle rustling. The above confirmed them as stakeholders in the fight against cattle rustling.

Village heads, as custodians of the rural communities, were also important to the study. They are the traditional leaders of the rural communities that always handle disputes between the herdsmen and farmers. Also, they do organise community policing in the various rural communities. Thus, they constituted a strong pillar in this research

because they provided information that squarely address question one to three. In fact, to some extent, the fourth question because of their experiences and personal efforts in preventing the cattle rustling. The position they occupied in the rural communities made them central to the research and that warranted their selection.

Two chairmen of the cattle breeders' association in the study area were also quite helpful as they provided the researcher with indispensable information on the nature of rural co-existence, cattle rustling and its effects on the rural well-being of the people. Considering their status, they were always central to the settlement of conflicts and protection of herdsmen and their livestock. Consequently, they were in a better position to reveal what had been happening between the farmers and the herdsmen in the rural communities. Again, their knowledge of the nature of the cattle rustling and efforts made by the state government to prevent the problem.

Victims of cattle rustling were also important to the research because they provided the researcher with relevant information which either attest to or contradict what other informants who may not likely be victims submitted. They lived in the rural communities, they have their livestock rustled, and relatives killed. They, therefore, constituted part of the stakeholders who were interviewed for the study to have in-depth information on the subject matter.

Two Focus Group Discussions for herdsmen and farmers were also conducted in two different local government areas to enrich the volume of the data. Those selected

ranged from 50 years above with experiences in cattle rustling, herdsmen and farmers conflict. Therefore, the experience was the determinant factor for the selection of the informants for the FGDs. As elders in the rural communities, they provided information on the nature of coexistence, cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities. They, undoubtedly, helped to enhance the quality of this research.

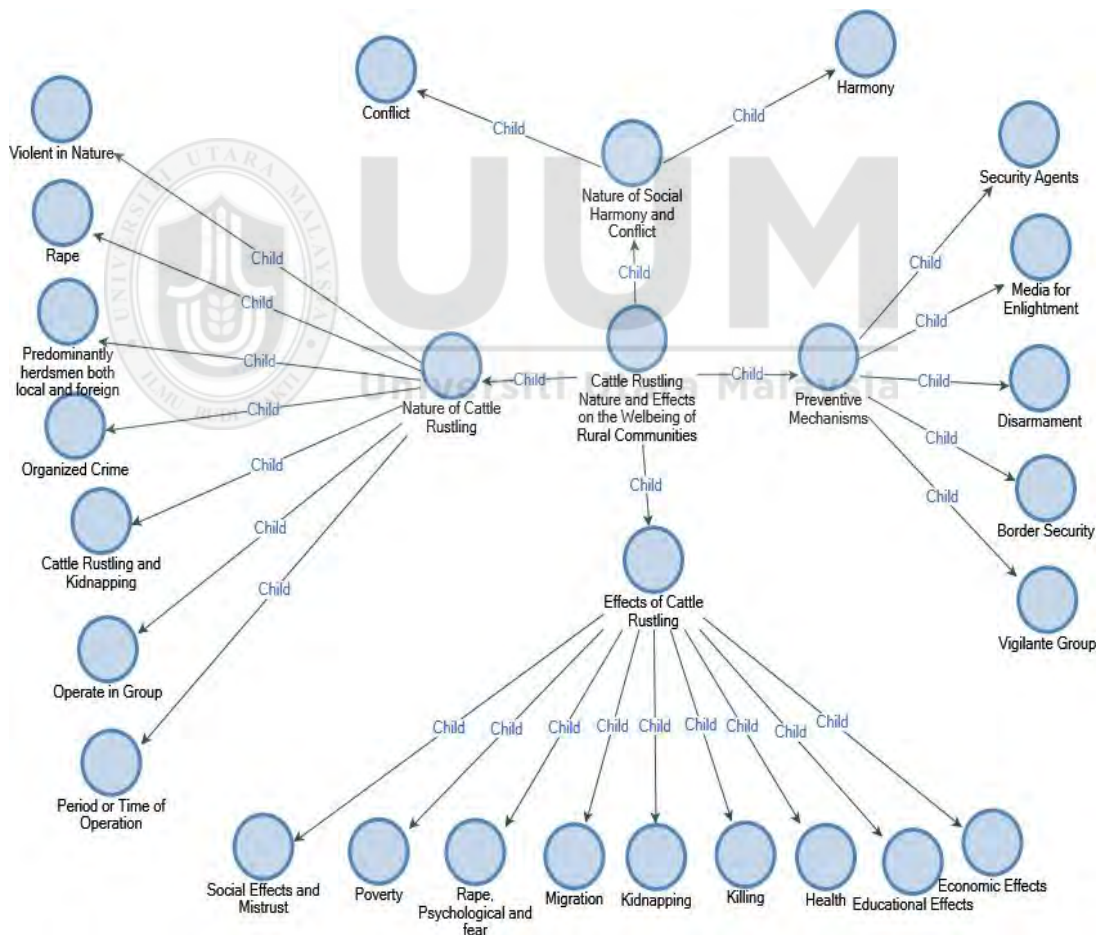


Figure 4.2: The Main Theme and the Sub-Themes
Source: Field Research, 2018.

The figure above shows the main theme, the themes and the sub-themes developed from the In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions conducted by the researcher. The next theme is on the nature of living in the rural communities of Kaduna State.

4.6 Nature of Social Coexistences among Rural Communities



Figure 4.3: The Nature of Social Coexistence
Source: Field Research, 2018.

The figure above shows the sub-themes for the first theme; i.e., the nature of social coexistence among rural communities of Kaduna State. Two sub-themes, social conflict and harmony emanated from the theme.

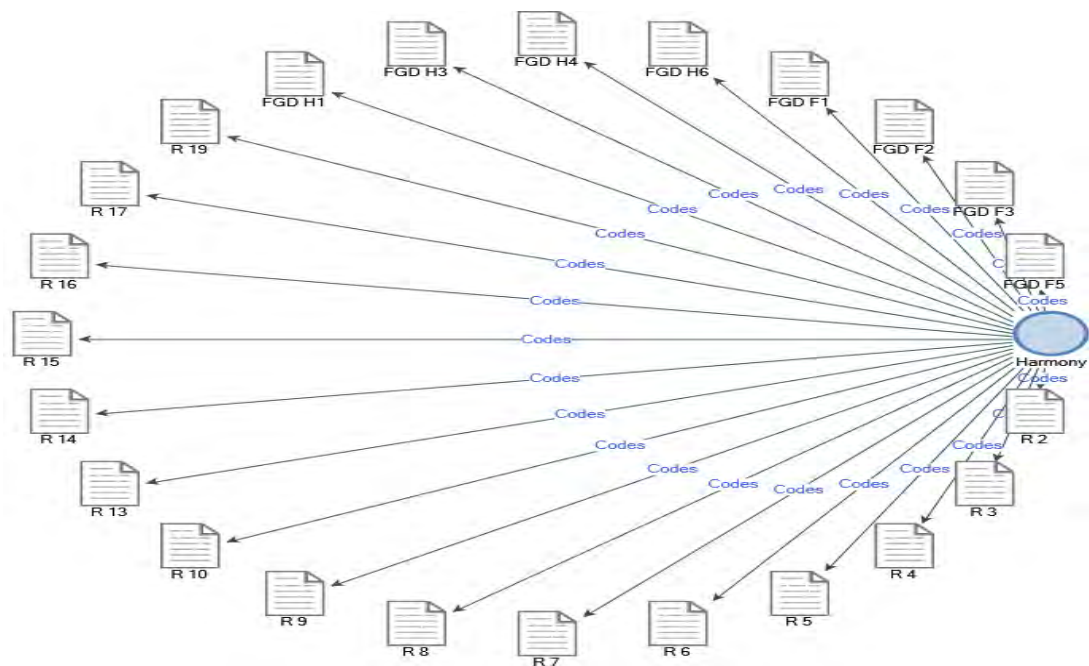


Figure 4.4: Sub Theme: Social Harmony
 Source: Field Research, 2018.

The figure above shows the sub-theme of social harmony and the interviewees, the sub-theme has 23 informants from both the IDI and the FGD that talked on the nature and the time the rural communities enjoyed harmony in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

4.6.1 The Nature of Social Harmony

Social harmony is a very important ingredient that contributed to the well-being of every society. The government of Kaduna State has set up committees to always improve on the level of social harmony among the rural populace. Furthermore, it has made it a duty for the local government areas to meet at least once a month to discuss matters that have to do with peace, harmony, and security. The well-being of the people can only be improved if there is harmony among them. Some of the key informants interviewed in the rural communities of Kaduna State agreed that there was the

existence of social harmony among the rural communities before and during the colonial masters, i.e., before Nigeria's independent, (FGD F3, FGD H1, FGD H4, FGD H1, FGD F5, FGD H6). For instance, an informant has this to say; "In those days (during the colonial period), our parents lived with the herdsmen without any problem, but now only Allah will prevent us. The herdsmen can destroy your crops and as well as attack you if you dare talk to them. This is very pathetic" (FGD F3). Again, other informants from a different background believed that they lived peacefully and harmoniously with the herdsmen neighbours some years back: "in the past, I mean 30 to 50 years and above, we used to live in peace with farmers but now things are not as they were as any little mistake can lead to violent conflicts between us" (FGD H1). Another participant also agreed with the above assertions when he said, "Herdsmen and farmers were, hitherto, living harmoniously without much rancor, as they often settled their misunderstandings with the community leaders" (R6). In the same vein, another participant, during one of the Focus Group Discussions with the herdsmen, argued as follows:

Our parents lived with the farmers without any problem before Nigeria's independence, as they do help each other. In fact, farmers do provide them with a place to live, they give them breakfast daily and provide potassium for their animals' consumption, all for free. This is to tell you the level of harmony we enjoyed before now. The individualism and disharmony began not quite long when Nigerian farmers and politicians became very selfish. They began to block cattle routes that were on the ground since the colonial era. Again, this issue of cattle rustling has increased the level of conflict among us (FGD H4).

However, there are contrary views on the issue of harmony among the participants. This may be related to the rural community or environment in which the participants

found themselves. Some of the informants are of the view that the issue of harmony between the herdsmen and farmers is a new development because they are presently more in peace than before. They experienced conflict before the harmony they are enjoying now. The informants have this to say:

We are now enjoying relative peace and harmony. There is some level of trust among us to the extent that we do businesses together without much fear. I am a butcher as well as a farmer. There is much money belonging to herdsmen with me and they have no fear of me tempering with their cash in my custody. This shows how close we are to them now (FGD F5).

Another informant corroborated the statement when he says:

... we are living in harmony with them, for more than 15 years now as we have not had any conflict with the farmers. In fact, even the last one was caused by nomadic herdsmen who destroyed crops of our neighbours when passing to the southern parts of the country (FGD H6).

Another informant gave a similar reason for living in harmony with their neighbours in their rural communities as follows:

We are now living in harmony as we marry from each other's families, protect our community together, do collective work to improve our markets and roads. Yes, we used to have conflicts before. However, we have understood each other now. It is a matter of making a scapegoat of the herdsmen who live with us. Herdsmen will come from somewhere to destroy our crops and without investigations we will start fighting those around us ignorantly, or what I will call transfer of aggression (FGD F1).

Some of the participants hold views contrary to what we have above. They believed for a long time, there had been harmonious relationship between the herdsmen and the farmers. A village head corroborated the above statement when he argued as follows:

I was born to see my grandfather living peacefully with the Fulani. We intermarry. In fact, my third wife is a Fulani woman and we have been together for 38 years now. Two of her children are with their maternal grandfather herding. When we were small, most Fulani that come to this area must take permission from my grandfather who was the then village head. This tradition continued during my late father's reign too. So, there were trust and confidence among us. However, cattle rustling has led everyone begin to suspect herdsmen as criminals (In-depth Interview with R2).

The level of peaceful coexistence in the rural communities was a kind of give and take based on mutual understanding among the people. An informant says:

Our parents and grandparents lived with the herdsmen without any conflict. The relationship then was symbiotic in nature. Herdsmen were like brothers to us: we intermarried. We do everything together. We were all important to each other. You hardly hear any of us pointing accusing fingers at each other (In-depth Interview with R13).

Other participants are of the view that they now enjoy harmony in their communities more than before. An informant has this to say:

In those days, we used to have conflicts in our communities. Our parents had never had peace. Little misunderstandings led to violent conflict. However, there is no much conflict between us and the herdsmen now. In fact, we live as our brothers' keepers. We have reconciled ourselves. In fact, we are collectively protecting our community against bad eggs. I cannot remember the last time that we had a conflict with them. I am sure it is more than thirty years now. The reality is that we have understood ourselves. May Allah protect us from going back to the era of conflicts (FGD F2).

When asked on the nature of the harmony among the communities, informant in both the IDI and FGD attested to the fact that they have been living in harmony for a long time now. They intermarry and maintain a very high level of mutual trust. A

participant has this to say: “we are living harmoniously like brothers and sisters. We pray together, do everything together. We intermarry and do businesses together: no one is suspecting anyone of wrongdoings” (FGD H3, R7). Other informants say: “We are living harmoniously. Farmers keep residues with herdsmen and the latter sell animals to them. We intermarry, do naming ceremonies together” (R19, R17). “We have been living in harmony with other Fulani (herdsmen) and Hausa who are farmers for quite a long time. If there is a slight problem, our leaders reconcile us. We live together on the bases of interdependence. We need each other for survival” (R5). “Our parents told us that before we were born there was no problem between us and the Fulani. But now I can count how, many times we had violent conflicts with them” (R8).

Another informant says:

Before now, I mean a long time ago, we were living together with farmers without any rancour. We grew up and see them living with our parents peacefully. They ate together, intermarried, do businesses together with a high level of trust. You hardly have a house of a farmer without our daughter given out to him for marriage. The Imam and other community leaders are all farmers and they handle us with justice in all ramifications (In-depth Interview with R16).

Another informant, however, perceived cattle rustling as a political way of criminalizing herdsmen:

Herdsmen and farmers have lived for a very long time in peace without any problem in this local government area. This is because we farm together, intermarry, we attend the same Arabic school, we do name ceremonies together. There was a high level of mutual trust as no one cheats on the other person. We burry out dead ones at the same burial ground, name them. For a long time, just as you cannot

separate blood from meat in the human body, so were herdsmen and farmers could not be separated from each other. Let me tell you, the killings you are hearing all over Nigeria that herdsmen kill farmers is political: it is because the President is from the same ethnic group with the herdsmen (In-depth Interview with R9).

Another school of thought is of the view that the conflict in rural communities is not between herdsmen that live in such places. Such misunderstandings are triggered by herdsmen that come into these areas from neighbouring countries for grazing. A participant says: “We the indigenous Fulani (herdsmen) seldom damage crops. Whenever it happens, authorities like the village heads, the police and the law courts always settle the matter by making the Fulani (herdsmen) to pay for the damages. We have no problem living together” (R4). The participant further added that:

If you hear any conflict between the two groups, it is the foreign nomads that pass through our place that cause damage to crop. Their confrontation with the farmers always leads to the killing of human beings, animals and further destruction of the entire area. These nomads are always moving with arms like guns and swords (In-depth Interview with R4).

Most of the informants interacted with above are of the view that their communities were more peaceful before and during the colonial period. This may not be unconnected with the little number of people, lack of large-scale commercial agriculture and designated cattle routes. Furthermore, high level of peaceful coexistence can also be traced to the undistorted culture and the traditions of the people at that time.

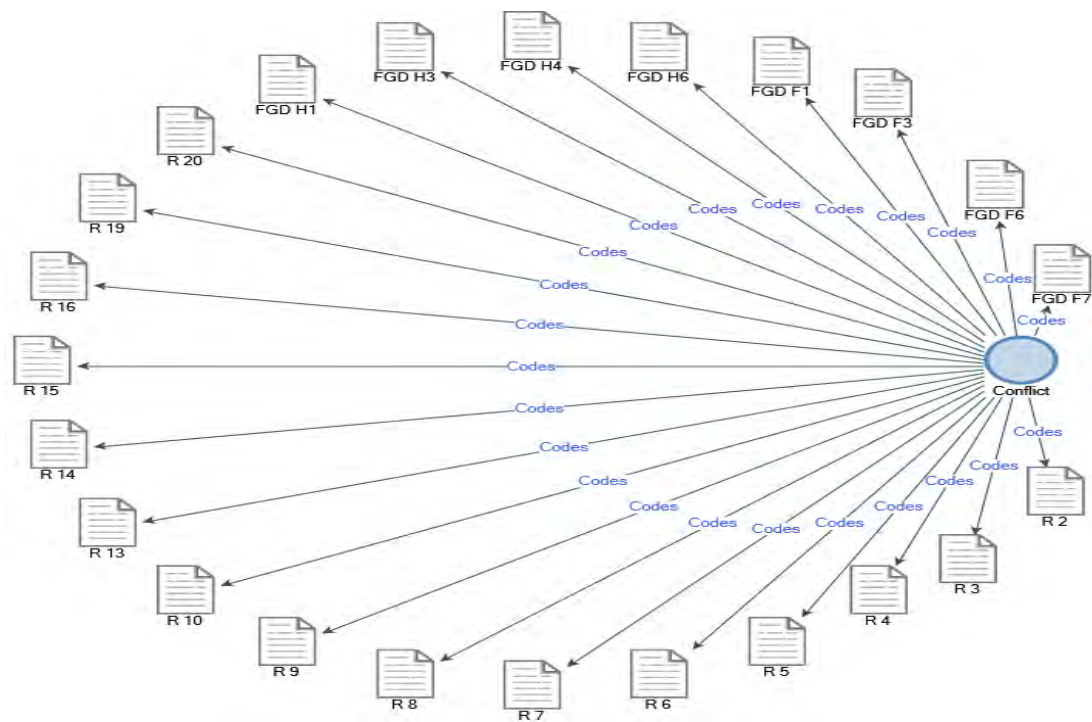


Figure 4.5: Sub-Theme: Conflict
 Source: Field Research, 2018

Figure 4.5 above shows the sub-theme and the number of the participants who answered the research question on the nature of living and conflict in the rural communities of Kaduna State, Nigeria. The response is generated from both the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

4.6.2 Social Conflicts

Violent conflicts between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria has caused serious problem to the relative peace hitherto enjoyed by some people in some of the rural communities in the country. Such conflicts have spread like wildfire consuming a large part of the country (Ikezue & Ezeah, 2017). The conflicts have affected the lives and properties of the people in rural communities of Kaduna State. One of the informants says: The

destruction of crops by herdsmen has led farmers to attack us and kill our herds, knowing very well that their crops were damaged by nomads from Niger Republic. Yes, such conflicts are frequent” (R9). Again, another informant says: “The relationship began to deteriorate as from the past 10 to 13 years. Sometimes the conflicts became bloody leaving many people dead and properties burnt” (R6).

The conflicts have also affected the level of peaceful coexistence between the people in the rural communities. An informant corroborates this position when he says:

Suddenly, the farmers no longer trust us because herdsmen from the neighbouring country (Niger Republic) who do not respect laws and human beings do encroach on their farms. This is what, most of the time, causes the conflict between us. It is unfortunate. They know we cannot deliberately destroy their crops, yet they attack us and sometimes kill our cattle, in fact. This is one of the reasons why our children resorted to cattle rustling because we no longer have cattle (FGD H3).

Another informant adds:

The relative level of trust existing between us and farmers no longer exists. They tend to hate us; they bought and blocked our cattle routes and places where our animals drink water. Yes, hate now! These people knew very well that we use the cattle routes. Yet, they blocked all the routes we use to pass to places where our cattle could get pasture or water. Yes, many were killed, and some lost their cattle. Let me tell you, this is one of the reasons why some of our children became cattle rustlers. (FGD H4).

Again, in another FGD conducted with the farmers, one informant has this to say:

There is no harmony between us. In fact, for your information, currently herdsmen are killing farmers in Benue, Zamfara, Plateau, Nasarawa, Kaduna states and some states in southern Nigeria. Only for people who are not current with what is going on in the country;

we don't trust them any longer. Yes, we used to trust them, but they have become quite dangerous to us. It is laughable that they have now resulted to rustling their kinsmen cattle (FGD F3).

The nature of the conflict has deteriorated to the level that peaceful coexistence between the two groups has become threatened seriously. The informant adds:

Why are people saying we are in peace with herdsmen whereas you know they destroy our crops whenever they feel like. We will never be in peace with them until they stop destroying our crops. I told my children to deal with any herdsman they see close to my farm. These herdsmen are all over the country destroying farmers' crops. This has created problem for us. But after finishing with us, they rustle their brothers' cattle (FGD F6).

There are varying submissions on the causes of and the damages incurred during the conflicts between the herdsmen and the farmers. While the farmers blamed the herdsmen, the herdsmen also blamed the farmers for the crises. Again, both the groups claimed to own the land. For instance, one of the herdsmen interviewed has this to say: “We were living in peace until when farmers begin to block our routes. We have no other option other than to destroy their crops and that cause the conflict between us. Yes, the routes are meant for us since the era of the colonial masters. During the last conflict, many people were killed, and houses burnt” (FGD H1). Also, other informants corroborated the above assertions: “Farmers, with the full backing of the government have blocked the initial cattle routes used by nomads. Since they have no another route to follow, they move in the night and destroy crops. At the end of the day the farmers will take us for the criminals and begin to fight some of us” (FGD H6). Another person says: “We have no problem with the herdsmen we live with. However, sometimes nomads from some of the neighbouring countries damage crops and our

youths attack the ones we are living with. This is a good case of transfer of aggression” (FGD F7).

Many reasons have been advanced to be responsible for the conflicts between herdsmen and farmers in the rural communities of Kaduna State. According to one informant: “I will link the cause of the conflict to poverty, unemployment, lack of good governance, and change in the family structure of the country that negates the power of our traditional leaders, undue encroachment on farms by the herdsmen” (R3). The informant adds another reason for the conflict another cause as follows:

Conflict between the two neighbours (herdsmen and farmers) becomes more glaring when the security challenges of cattle rustling came up. They (cattle rustlers) started attacking wealthy farmers, and the farmers have no option other than to fight back. I can, therefore, authoritatively say that cattle rustling has increased the conflicts in parts of Kaduna State (In-depth Interview with R3).

From a different perspective, some of the participants blamed the causes on the conflict in rural communities to the commercialisation of agriculture which led to the takeover of cattle routes, and cattle drinking points:

Peaceful coexistence in the study area began to deteriorate when mechanised agriculture began, leading cattle routes to the takeover and watering point politicians. Our parents were subsistent farmers who had abundant land for cultivation. Let me tell you the truth: both the farmers and herdsmen hate each other now. I cannot say why you will be living together with the herdsmen and they will destroy your crops and attack farmers. Again, the farmers can also be blamed for blocking the cattle routes. They have destroyed my crops worth 1.5 million naira. But because I am a leader, I asked my people to exercise some restraint and not to confront them (In-depth Interview with R13).

In a related submission, another informant argued that blockage of the cattle route was the major cause of the conflict:

The problem just began because of the cattle routes that were meant for our animals to go and graze have been taken over by others. Such places where since the era of our grandparents as they all came and meet us here. But meant for us they came and sold the lands including cattle routes. We have no place to take our animals to for grazing. As a result, conflicts began, and government is always siding the farmers and politicians that always seize our cattle routes (In-depth Interview with R5).

Furthermore, another informant linked the cause of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers to the commercialisation of agriculture and politics. He has this to say:

The peace, we hitherto, enjoyed here no longer exists. Herdsmen and farmers are like enemies now because of the frequent conflicts. No one wants to hear the names of the other person being mentioned as there is always conflicts between us. All these happen because of the commercialisation of agriculture and politics. Herdsmen are now labelled criminals because the president is a Fulani man. Again, farmers have forced the Fulani herders to destroy their farm products because the farmers encroached on cattle routes and reserves (In-depth Interview with R16).

Another key informant blamed the deteriorating level of peaceful coexistence in the rural communities on the withdrawal of farmers support to herdsmen and the climate change.

Conflict between the two groups begins to escalate when the farmers started burning the residues from their farm products that the herdsmen relied on to feed their animals. The second issue is when land became short in supply and the farmers started encroaching on cattle routes. The herdsmen had no option other than to pass through and destroy the crops on the farms on their routes. Another source of conflict is climate change. Inadequate rainfall forces the herdsmen to move from the northern parts of the country to the south.

In the process of their movements, they destroyed farmers crops (In-depth Interview with R19).

Causes of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers have been categorized into immediate and remote. One of the informants submit as follows:

The whole problem began in the early 1970 when trust between the herdsmen and the farmers started manifesting. The conflict began here because of factor like: destruction of crops. This is the immediate cause. However, let me sincerely blame us the farmers. The farmers blocked and sold many of the designated cattle routes and grazing reserves that were formally meant for passage and grazing with no much problem. This is the remote cause of the conflicts (In-depth Interview with R2).

Damage to crops by herdsmen from the neighbouring countries was also pointed out argued as one of the major causes of the conflicts. Some of the informants have this to say:

If you hear any conflict, it means the nomads who are from Chad, Cameroun or Niger are passing by and they have done damage to crops of the farmers around. They used this route on their way the southern part of the country particularly during the dry season before the end of harvest period. You cannot blame them wholly because that have been that routes their grandparents have been using for a long time. But, unfortunately, big stone farmers and politicians here have sold them, and people now cultivate crops on the cattle routes (In-depth Interview with R4, R7, R15).

To buttress this fact further, another informant says:

We had no problem with our neighbours until when nomads began to come from Niger Republic, a neighbouring country, behaving without respect for us and other members of the community. They came with a problem that affects both the farmers and herdsmen here. The issue is that they don't respect the laws of the land and damage crops with no apology. They are strangers from the

neighbouring country because no herdsman in this local government will destroy crops. But unfortunately, the farmers fight us. This has destroyed our children's future by making them to turn to cattle rustling (In-depth Interview with R9).

Another informant while blaming the foreign herdsmen, for the crises between farmers and herdsmen, say:

The violent conflict began recently when strange herdsmen got involved in cattle rustling come and rustle our cattle. They came set ablaze a rural community, killed people indiscriminately and went away with some cattle. There was a time they directed that no one should go to farm in our village. They as they destroy crops intentionally (In-depth Interview with R10).

For one of the informants, the conflict has mostly between the foreign herdsmen and farmers. The informant says:

The conflict is mostly between the host community and the foreign nomads who pass through here on their way to the south for a greener pasture. However, sometimes, the local Fulani also destroy our crops. But this never led to a violent conflict between us. The police, community leaders and courts intervene and settle the disputes. We formed a vigilante group to prevent crops from being damaged or cattle rustlers from being collecting our neighbours' cattle. We are about four years now as a group (In-depth Interview with R8).

On the frequency of conflicts in the study area, informants give the following submissions: “There is hardly a year without conflict between us and the herdsmen, but our saving grace is that we have a responsible village head who is always on top of the matter” (FGD F1). Furthermore, other informants are of the view that the frequency of the conflicts is unpredictable:

No one will know the frequency of the conflict because it is not always planned. I will say that I am more than 70 years now, but the conflicts only took place here three times. Minor ones are resolved in this office or taken to the police or courts are many. That is why there is no much trust among us. Youths are those mostly involved in the conflicts. You know they are mostly impatient (In-depth Interview with R2).

From the responses of the key informants, it is clear that conflict between farmers and herdsmen exist in most of the rural communities in Kaduna State. The conflicts are violent and caused by many reasons. They unfortunately affected both the social and economic activities in the study area. The next figure is on the nature of cattle rustling in Kaduna State.

The Nature of Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State

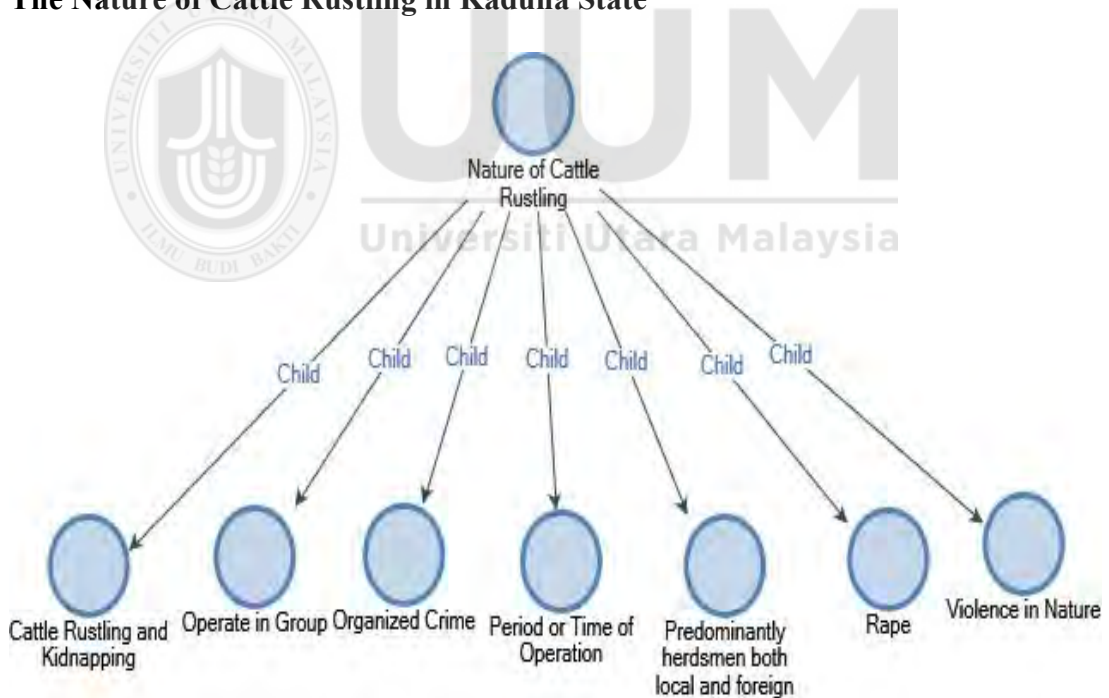


Figure 4.6: Nature of Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State

Source: Field research, 2018

The figure above shows the theme and sub-themes for the nature of cattle rustling in Kaduna State. These are cattle rustling and kidnapping, operation in groups, organised

crime, period or time of operation, predominantly carried out both by herdsmen local or foreign, rape, and it is violent in nature.

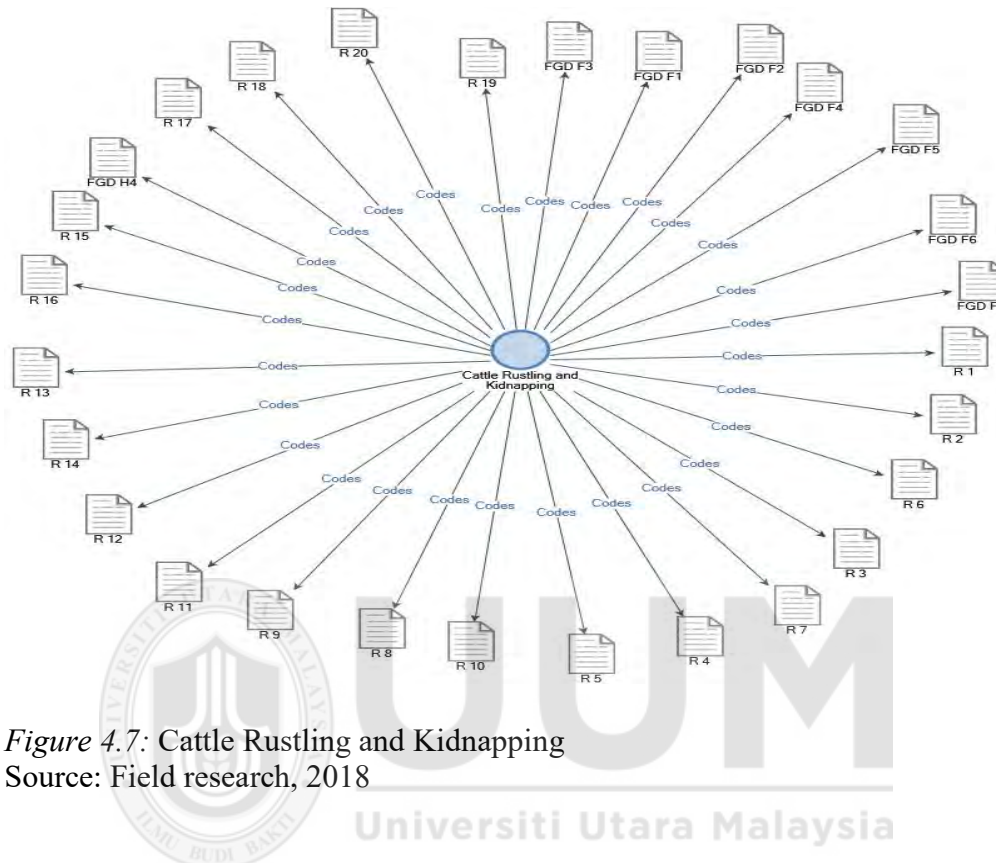


Figure 4.7: Cattle Rustling and Kidnapping
Source: Field research, 2018

The figure above shows the sub-themes of cattle rustling, kidnapping and the number of interviewees who answered questions on the existence of cattle rustling and kidnapping in their communities. The interviewees cut across the FGD and IDI.

4.6.3 Cattle Rustling and Kidnapping

Cattle rustling is an act of violent confiscation of animals often with the use of arms from the livestock owners. Cattle rustling and kidnapping recently become glaring in northern Nigeria. It is generally associated with a society where you have a weak governance structures a weak security enforcement system, a weak mechanism for the regulation of cattle markets, slaughterhouses, and livestock management in general

(Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016). Kidnapping is a crime in the form of confining, seizing, and abducting a person by force, frequently to be subjected to involuntary bondage to demand ransom (Akpan, 2010). Cattle rustling and kidnapping have occupied the centre stage in the discussion on insecurity in Nigeria.

Cattle rustling and kidnapping have become very common in Kaduna State. For instance, most participants interviewed confirmed that they had experienced the phenomenon in their communities. For instance, this informant argues as follows: “There is cattle rustling in this community. In fact, they came in the last three months and forcefully collected the cattle we used for farming” (FGD F1). The informant added, “it is not only the herdsmen that are affected. Three of the cattle I was using for farming were also stolen in the last four months” (FGD F1). In the same FGD conducted, another informant shared a similar experience, “Yes, cattle rustling, and kidnapping have taken place here. In fact, even this year they have rustled the cattle of our neighbouring herdsmen and kidnapped a herdsman” (FGD F6).

One of the individuals interviewed also confirmed the existence of cattle rustling and kidnapping in most parts of Kaduna State. For instance, a key informant has argued that: “There are cattle rustling and kidnapping in this part of Birnin Gwari local government area. For instance, the whole of my cattle was rustled in the afternoon at about 4 pm” (R10).

To further buttress the above fact, another informant has this to say:

Cattle rustling, and kidnapping are like a wildfire, and very common, particularly in the northern parts of Nigeria. In Kaduna

State, there is no community free of being attacked by the cattle rustlers or kidnappers. The stealing is done in two ways, the first are those that come to the stock and steal one or two cattle. The second are the worse as, they rustled with arms by force. And if they did not get the cattle, they resort to kidnapping the breadwinner of the family (In-depth Interview with R6).

Another participant, a politician who went around the state during the electioneering campaign of the 2015 general elections and observed that cattle rustling was present in most parts of the State. The informant argued as follows:

When we were going around for the campaign towards the end of 2014, we observed that the level of insecurity particularly on rural communities was very high. Cattle rustling and kidnapping in Birnin Gwari, Giwa and Chikun and other local government areas were beyond control. These areas were called no farming zones. The cattle rustlers have seized the rural communities: you see them loading cattle into trucks and no one can call them to order. They come to the market broad daylight and operate with no one hindering them (In-depth Interview with R11).

Another informant further gave a breakdown of the places most prone to cattle rustling and kidnapping in rural in Kaduna State.

The menace has reached a very enormous and alarming rate. The western part of Kaduna State, particularly Birnin Gwari has suffered the most of cattle rustling when compared to other places. The next area that suffered much is between Kaduna and Abuja which is under Chikun Local government area. Giwa local government area has also suffered widescale cattle rustling and kidnapping. Furthermore, Kajuru and Kagarko local government areas are also affected. All these local government areas share boundaries with each other (In-depth Interview with R14).

The informant added that the menace is highly prevalent. Below is his submission:

Cattle rustling and kidnapping are highly prevalent.... nearly in all parts of Kaduna State The only thing is the dimensions and scale

vary from one part of the state to another. In some areas is high; in some areas it is medium and, in other areas is low. But no part of the state is free from cattle rustling and kidnapping (In-depth Interview with R14).

Cattle rustling was also discovered to have changed from a small quantity of stealing of one or more cattle to a large quantity. For instance, an informant explained his ordeal with the rustles as follows; as follows, “I am a victim because they have once rustled more than 200 cattle belonging to my son” (R5). Again, another informant stressed the above corroborated the above statement by saying: “Cattle rustling started with stealing one or more cattle, but later it reached the level at which 500 or more cattle were forcefully taken away at gunpoint” (R9). Another informant notes: “There is someone I know who lost 62 cattle forcefully collected” (R8). During one of the FDG conducted by us, one of the informants says: “They came to the herdsmen close to us and collected all the cattle they had. The victims’ leader told me that they had lost more than 1000 cattle to the rustlers” (FGD F7).

Another informant who had conducted research in the study area confirms the pervasiveness of the menace in the state when he says:

We have conducted several researches in northwestern part of Nigeria, covering Kaduna, Katsina, and Zamfara on pastoralists and farmers conflict and found cases of pastoralists losing their cows sometimes in hundreds to the rustlers. In fact, in Zamfara State, someone lost over 200 cattle. In Katsina State, cattle rustlers have ever seized not less than 2700 cattle in a day. The trend has changed from small to a large-scale rustling (In-depth Interview with R20).

The study also found that cattle rustlers and kidnapers were the same. In most cases, they go for cattle rustling. Yet, they kidnap any available person for ransom if they

could not get cattle to go with. This, therefore, shows a different dimension of cattle rustling. An informant says: “They are the same as they are gradually changing from cattle rustling to kidnapping where they make easy and more money,” (FGD F3). R14 has argued that: “Kidnapping is a mutation from cattle rustling and it is done for easy money making and criminal tendency”.

The FGDs conducted also glaringly show that there is a connection between cattle rustling and kidnapping. One of the informants has argued thus:

You cannot differentiate one from the other; they are one. There was a time they came and could not get cattle to rustle in the community; and at the end, they resorted to kidnapping two herdsmen. The relatives had to pay ransom before victims gain their freedom (FGD F5).

Another informant, who happened to be a victim of the scenario above says

The cattle rustlers are also kidnapers, it is like kidnapping is more rewarding than cattle rustling. That is why they are moving or changing to kidnapping. This is because sometimes they are arrested even at the point of selling the cattle (In-depth Interview with R9).

Another key informant adds;

They are the same with the kidnapers. It is if they are graduating to a more paying means of getting money. They have resolved to be kidnapping the owners of the cattle until they sell the cattle and send the money to them before gaining freedom. Even today I received a text that one of the Fulani leaders was kidnapped and its simply because he leaked some confidential information about some of the cattle rustlers. After kidnapping him, they called on his relatives to pay 5 million naira as ransom (In-depth Interview with R15).

To confirm the statements above, the cattle rustlers interviewed agreed that they do both cattle rustling and kidnapping. One of them says: “Yes, we do both cattle rustling

and kidnapping. Sometimes when we think there is going to be a problem selling the cattle, we try kidnapping which is easier and more rewarding,” (R1). Another cattle rustler agrees with the position of his colleague in crime thus: “Yes, we do kidnap if the herdsmen refused to let us know the whereabouts of their livestock. Our target is usually the cattle, but when we do not get them, we have no option other than to kidnap the owner of the cattle” (R12).

Another cattle rustler, who was also interviewed confirmed that they rustle cattle, kidnap, rape, and commit other armed robbery-related offences

We are into crimes such as cattle rustling, kidnapping, and armed robbery. In fact, although I am not always in support, some of us do rape their victims. If you hear any robbery or cattle rustling, along the Kaduna-Abuja road, it is me or my boys. Beyond Kaduna, we also go to Katsina and Zamfara states for these type of operations (In-depth Interview with R18).

Another informant further gave reasons for the change from cattle rustling to kidnapping as follows:

We get more money through kidnapping. Sometimes we get more than 5 million, 7 million, and up to 10 million etc. Again, kidnapping is easier although it demands the use of intelligence much more than cattle rustling. If you forcefully collect cattle, another problem is how to sell them. Sometimes, the money you get is not commensurate to the pains you had undergone in the course of stealing the cattle (In-depth Interview with R18).

Responses from the informants show that cattle rustling, and kidnapping exist and perpetrated by the same group of people. It is now very clear cattle rustling and kidnapping is prevalent in the study area.

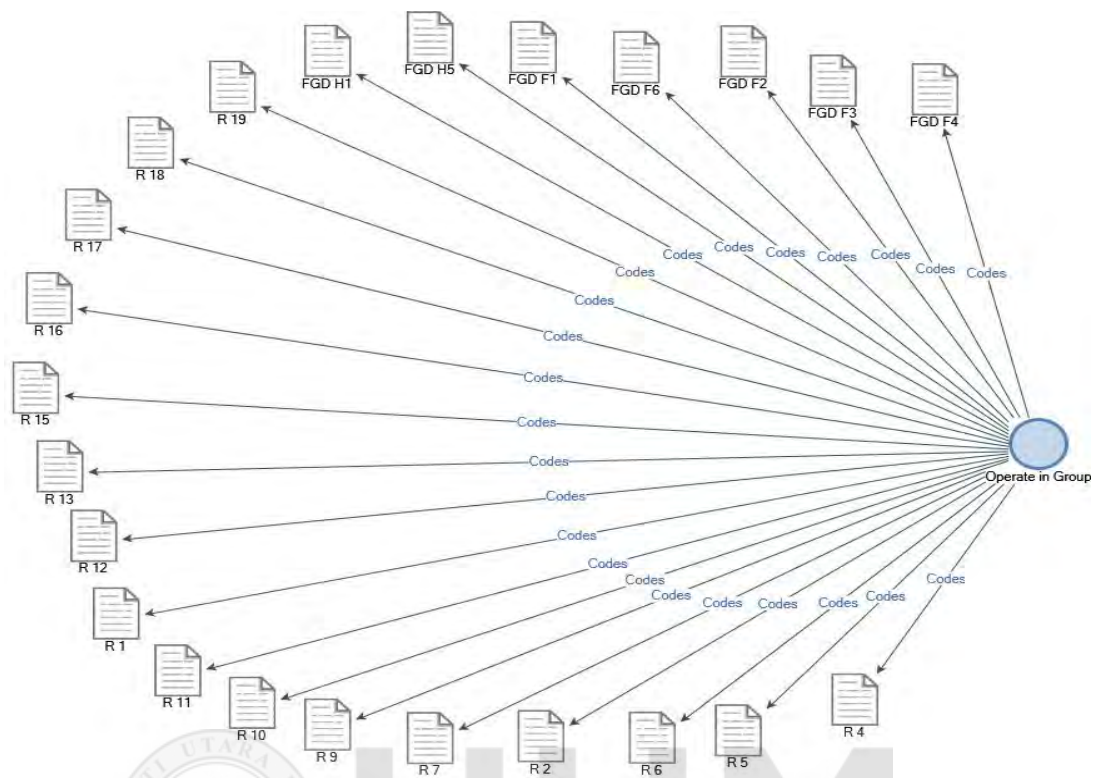


Figure 4.8: Cattle Rustlers Operate in Group
 Source: Field research, 2018

Figure 4.8 above shows the sub-theme of how cattle rustlers operate in a group and the number of interviewees attempted to give explanations the mode of operation.

4.6.4 Cattle Rustlers Operate in Groups

To understand the nature of cattle rustling properly, the informants were asked on the mode of operation of the rustlers. There was a consensus of opinions from both the focus group discussions and the in-depth interviews conducted that the rustlers operate in groups. However, there were little disagreements on the number of the rustlers in a group. The informants argued as follows: “They move in large number, between 20 and 40. In fact, sometimes they are more in number than the village they attack”, (R13). Another informant in one of the FGDs conducted, says: “They are young adults,

numbering about thirty or more. I got to know this when we were called for help. But unfortunately, they had more sophisticated arms than what we had. Moreover, they were more than us in number” (FGD F6).

Another participant, heading a security outfit shouldered with the responsibility of curtailing the menace, also argued in the same vein when he notes:

They go fully armed in groups of youths at any time of the day to rustle cattle or kidnap owners of the cattle. There was a time when my boys arrested up to 16 of them from a gang. The rest fled into the forest. Yes, it is a very thick forest that connected many states in this part of the country. These criminals have made the forest their den, and no one stays there except them (In-depth Interview with R11).

Another informant, a security personnel, also stressed on the above arguments as follows:

They go to the villages in number with their arms to forcefully collect the cattle and go with them. They are youths of a tender ages. The last time that we arrested them, the oldest among them was just 26 years old. You see, no one can tell the exact number of the members of the gang because they usually scared the herdsmen away before they operate (In-depth Interview with R6).

In one of the FGDs conducted, another informant concurred with above submission.

When he notes that:

They do come in the night fully armed, in fact, they fire several sporadic gunshots to alert the community members of their presence. You cannot even think of coming out. However, people do make efforts to come out for help but because of their heavy arms and number, they have no option but to allow them to carry out their dubious acts. Yes, they are many, but no one can tell you of their exact number (FGD H5).

Another informant and a victim also share his experience as noted below:

The last time they came to our village to rustle cattle, they were more than 50. I have seen them with my God-given eyes. They were all youths. If you beg them for the sake of Allah (God), they usually say we don't know Allah. It is terrible. We are not secured (In-depth Interview with R10).

An informant, himself a cattle rustler interviewed confirmed that they rustle in a group.

He gave the following submission:

We are about 33 in the gang if I am not mistaken. We all took an oath to keep the secrets of the group, and no one should allow any outsider to have information on our plans. Yes, we do operate together, and everyone is assigned a role by the group leader during the operation. He determines our directions and how much we get after each operation (In-depth Interview with R12).

Another cattle rustler also makes his submission as follows:

I am almost five years now with the gang, and we are more than 43 in the row. I do not know the names of all of them neither do I know where they came from. We are all male and young although there are a few of us. I think our leader is age mate (In-depth Interview with R1).

Another informant also gave his version of the nature of their operations as follows;

My uncle who introduced me to the business was our group leader. I was introduced into it at 14 years, about six years ago. My uncle was killed in a gun battle with the police along with many of our group members in the forest. As a result, I automatically became the group leader. I am twenty years old now. Yes, I have group members. We are up to 54 in the group. Yes, we have people from other ethnic groups that are with us. In fact, my second in command was a Hausa speaker. However, most of us are herdsmen (In-depth Interview with R18).

Findings so far have shown that cattle rustlers, who are mostly youths, operate in groups. It was also discovered that there is no specific number in the group. The group leader always determines how the it operates.

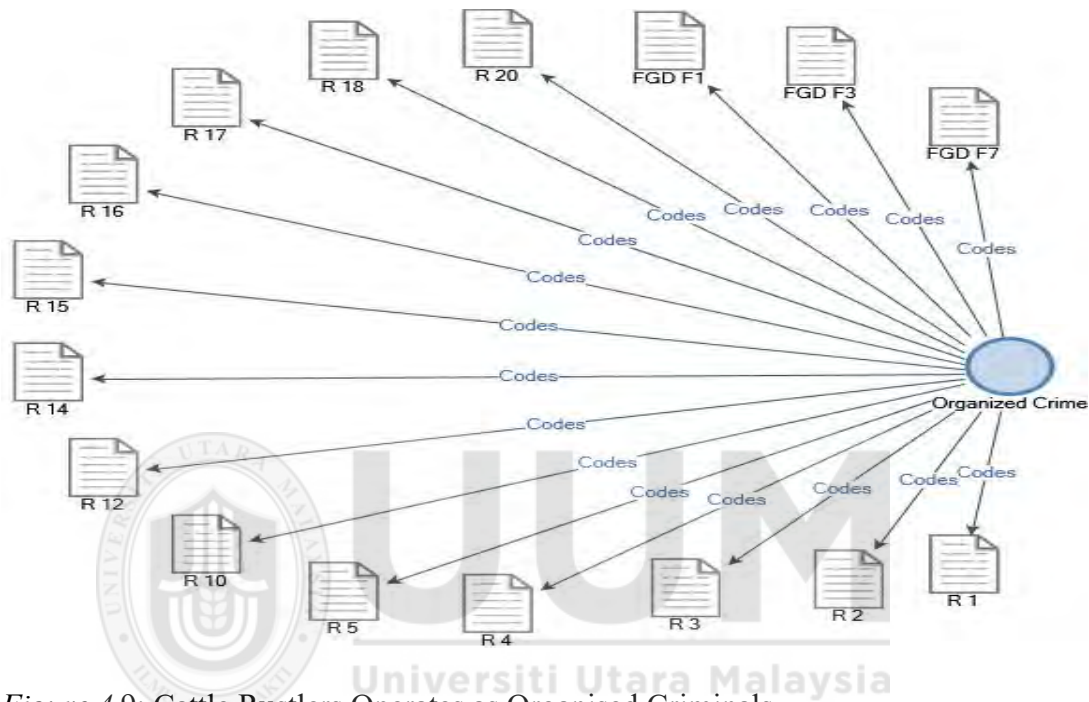


Figure 4.9: Cattle Rustlers Operates as Organised Criminals
Source: Field research, 2018

4.6.5 Cattle Rustling as an Organised Crime

Cattle rustling in Nigeria is a syndicate. It is an organised crime that takes place in the rural communities. An organised criminal group is the one with three or more persons existing over a period of time acting in concert with the aim of committing crimes for financial or material advantage (Etannibi-Alemika *et al.*, 2013). There are different arguments as to if cattle rustling is an organised crime or not. Some informants interviewed agreed that it is an organised crime. Some never take it as such. For instance, an informant argued as follows: “Yes, it’s an organised crime because

butchers and livestock dealers who are not Fulani do connive to ensure that the identities of the rustlers are not made public. They benefit from the activities of the rustlers, of the rustling” (FGD F3). “There is also the help and collaboration of those who are part of the community. The PDP-led government had contributed to the problem because they want to win the 2015 elections” (R5).

Speaking from a different perspective, another informant argued that the organisation is made up of both local and foreign herdsmen. Furthermore, another informant gives the different way cattle rustling is being organised.

These cattle rustlers work with the aid of some informants that stay with those that have the cattle. In most cases cattle rustling is an organised crime. Those who connive with them are village heads, Fulani head, and district heads. Again, I am accusing the PDP-led government because they hate northern part of the country (In-depth Interview with F14).

Another informant accused the previous government of the People’s Democratic Party (PDP) headed by Goodluck Jonathan of organising and sponsoring cattle rustling for their political interests. His argument runs as given below:

It was a calculated and deliberate act by the previous government to cause confusions for us not to have peace in the north so that they can rig the 2015 general elections. They were the organisers and sponsors of the cattle rustling in the north. They got arms from conflict-prone countries like Libya, Sudan, Mali, Chad, and other African countries and give them to the rustlers to create confusion (In-depth Interview with R17).

The two arguments given above can be regarded as holding some water because insurgents of such nature have been sponsored by some elites in Nigeria (Mohammed,

Joda & Abdulrasheed, 2015). Again, it will not be easy for the criminals to abandon the business since they are making easy money. To buttress this claim, another informant gave six groups of people that were involved in the organisation of cattle rustling:

It is really organised and highly sophisticated more than any other type of business you think of. Those involve in cattle business into six. The first group within the actors is the entrepreneurs. Owners of the rustling syndicate they are rich, highly influential people, they live in the cities and are not Fulani. The second group is what I can describe as the facilitators, who are mostly people that provide cover to the enabling environment for the entrepreneurs to operate without hitches. Most of these facilitators are either security personnel, or are well connected to the security agencies, the politicians and key traditional rulers. And most of them use their own good offices or positions to facilitate the act. Some of the security agencies are involved in providing cover from the point of rustling to the market (In-depth Interview with R15).

The informant further gave more explanations about the actors as given below:

The third group of the actors is the transporters. The people are those who transport the stolen animals to the market. They own large trucks. They are the transporters who organise the movement of the stolen cattle from wherever they are to the point of sale.

The fourth group is the marketers. They are those that purchase the stolen cows. They know they are stolen items, yet they create special markets for them. They know the butchers and where to sell the cattle. They have all the links to cover any trace that can expose them. In fact, even if you identify your cattle, they have their ways of conniving with security people that are their partners in the crime to thwart your attempts to take your cattle back.

The fifth group is the supplier of guns, bullets and other weapons used. They supply these through the entrepreneurs who supply everything that the foot soldiers need for operations.

The sixth group of actors are those whom I can call the foot soldiers. They are those that go to the herdsmen's houses and rustle the animals themselves, take the cattle to the bush, graze them until they are sold. They are the faces seen in the act. Most of the foot soldiers are pastoral backgrounds (In-depth Interview with R15).

Another cattle rustler also gave explanations on how the business was organised in his group:

Yes, our leaders collect arms like AK 47 and others for our use. It is only our leaders that know them. I am sure they do give our group leader something because he will always tell us that he wants to go and get us something. None of us know those supplying the arms. Only our group leader knows them (In-depth Interview with R1).

Another informant and a cattle rustler also corroborated the above argument as follows:

After we had rustled the cattle, our leader gives us any amount he thinks is for us. The cattle are moved to unidentified places for them to be carried to the market. There are customers that buy anytime they are available. I wouldn't know if they are aware that the cattle are been rustled because I am not part of the negotiators. However, I know our gang leader do call those that will buy the cattle (In-depth Interview with R12).

Again, one more informant argued that they get all they needed from people in the town, his submissions were as follows:

We used to get all the arms needed from one Alhaji in Zamfara State. We do buy them with bullets at exorbitant rates because he knows what we will use them for. We were not sponsored, but we only had

business partners from where we buy implements and those, we sell the livestock to (In-depth Interview with R18).

However, other informants held a different view regarding the claim that cattle rustling was organized and sponsored by the previous (PDP) government:

I cannot say there is anyone sponsoring them because we have never talked with them and I don't know them. This is a criminal activity because the problem still exists. In fact, they are metamorphosing to kidnapping. Then, how will someone still say that the previous government is responsible for the present state of kidnapping? They are criminals, I can only agree it is an organised crime, but it is not sponsored (In-depth Interview with R10).

The above argument was also corroborated by another informant. He says:

No one will know if they are being sponsored or not. The fact is that they do bribe the police not to arrest or stop them. I don't think they are being sponsored by anyone. They are just criminals that want to get money cheaply (In-depth Interview with R2).

The above responses clearly show that cattle rustling is an organised crime involving hardened criminals and some corrupt security personnel. This has made cattle rustling very complex to control in the study area. The diagram below shows the period or time when cattle rustlers operate.

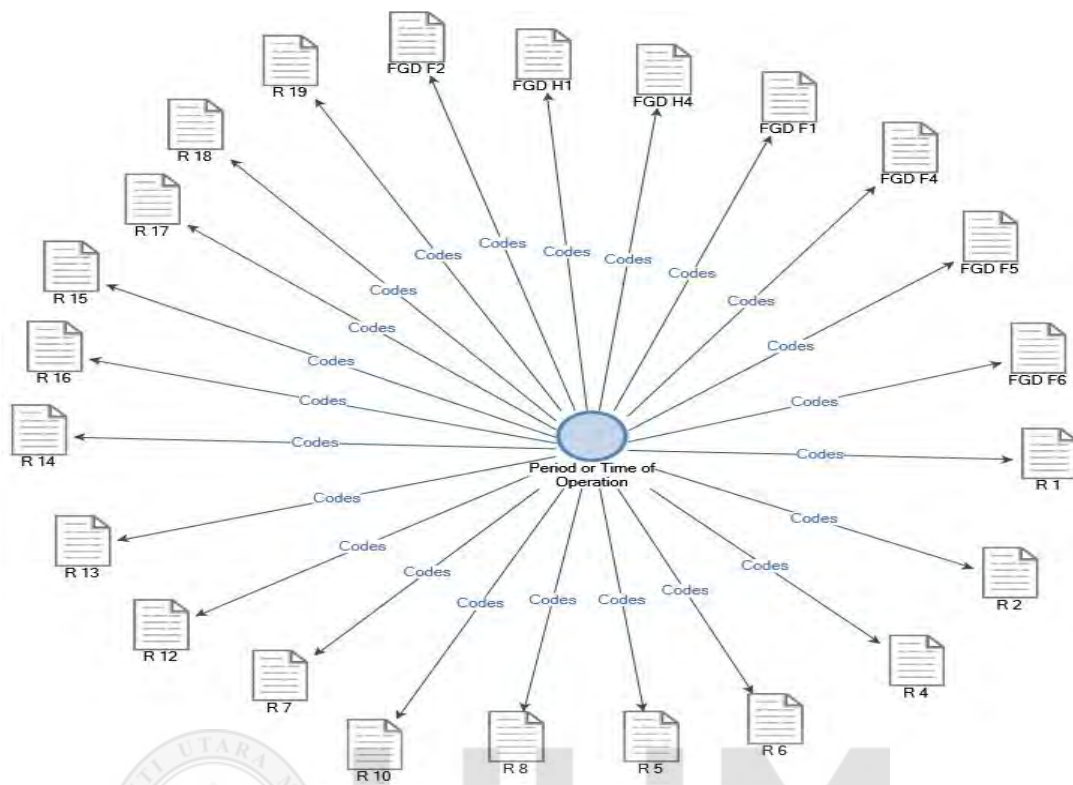


Figure 4.10: Period or Time of Operations of the Cattle Rustlers
 Source: Field Research, 2018.

4.6.6 Period or Time of Operation of the Cattle Rustlers

Different periods were identified as when the cattle rustlers operate in the various communities where this research was conducted. For instance, informants R 2,6,8,14,15,16,17, 18 and FGD F1,4,6, FGD H1,4 that responded to this part of the question agreed that cattle rustling was strictly a night affair. One of them says:

The cattle rustlers do come in the night to force us and collect our cattle. This is because they want to take them to the forest before daybreak. The last time they came and collected about 300 or more cattle here was around 3 am. I have never heard where criminals went and collected cattle in the afternoon (FGD H1).

Three of the cattle rustlers interviewed agreed that cattle rustling is mostly done in the night. One of the informants says:

We operate at any time we feel we are secured. I mean we feel we are not going to be arrested. However, we operate mostly in the night because it is safer. In fact, since I got involved in this business, it was only one or two times that we collected cattle in the daytime (In-depth Interview with R12).

Another informant said that “The cattle rustlers mostly come in the night. Although, during the last three years, they do come at about 6 pm” (R13). Another informant gave a related submission thus:

Cattle rustling in this community takes place at any time of the day. Though, it mostly happens in the night. But if they know you are not strong, or you don't have arms to prevent them, they do come even in the daytime. Sometimes, they send a letter to the herdsmen informing them that they would come (In-depth Interview with R4).

One of the informants argued that the only experience of cattle rustling they had in their community took place in the afternoon:

My experience is that five years ago, our children were taking care of livestock in the bush when they collected the entire herd and held the children until those that collected the cattle had gone. This is the only experience we had in this community. They collected the cattle in the afternoon (In-depth Interview with R5).

Another victim narrates his ordeal with the cattle rustlers thus:

I could remember one fateful Friday when we all went to the market and left the cattle with our children. They came around 5 p.m. wearing military uniforms and collected our cattle from my brother. This was about three years ago. Yes, that was in 2014 (In-depth Interview with R7).

From the responses, cattle rustling can take place at any time of the day. However, it is more prevalent in the night when the rustlers feel it is safer to operate. The diagram below shows that cattle rustling is predominantly carried out by herdsmen.

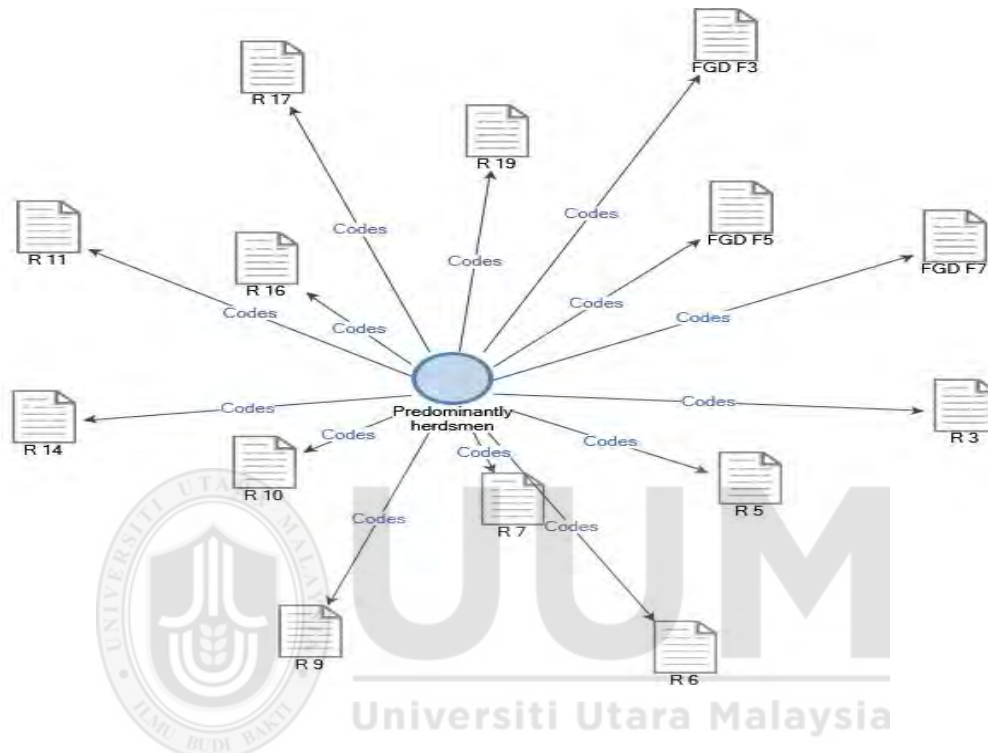


Figure 4.11: Predominantly Herdsmen
Source: Field Research, 2018.

Figure 4.11 shows the sub-theme of predominantly herdsmen and the number of key informants that talked to the researcher on the matter.

4.6.7 Predominantly Herdsmen

Several opinions have been tendered as to the group of people that are mostly involved in cattle rustling in the rural communities. In course of collection, one of the informants argued as follows: “It is rather unfortunate that this act is perpetrated by our children, our relatives and our kinsmen. No one else will rustle cattle without

herdsman. You cannot manipulate cattle if you are not a Fulani man. So, it is their handiwork” (R10 & R3).

This opinion is further corroborated by another informant who says:

All those involved in cattle rustling are Fulani (herdsmen). People like Buharin Daji and his group members in Zamfara State are all Fulani. All those caught in the communities around us were herdsmen. I have never heard of people from other who tribes are involved in cattle rustling except the herdsmen. However, you can find people other from ethnic groups committing other crimes but not cattle rustling (FGD F7 & FGD F3).

While others argued that its purely a Fulani affair, some informants have argued that one should attribute an act of criminality to one ethnic group. The of them says: “I cannot say all the cattle rustlers are herdsmen, but I know they are in the majority. Eight of them were caught some years back and only one was not a Fulani man” (R17). Another informant has this to says, “To my knowledge, those who are cattle rustlers are also kidnappers, most of which are Fulanis” (R5). A police officer and a member a vigilante group member said: “Those involved in the act of cattle rustling are mostly Fulani that have lost their cattle. However, there were a few of such arrested person that were not Fulani” (R6 & R16).

Another person says: “Because herding is a Fulani affair, majority that are into the practice of cattle rustling are fulani. In most cases, the Fulani that practice the acts are foreigners from our neighbouring countries” (R 11 & FGD F7). Another informant, who has a divergent view, says: “You cannot attribute cattle rustling to one ethnic group because crime has no ethnicity, no social group, no economic group. They are a bunch of criminals that want easy wealth” (R14).

One other informant attributed rustling to the foreign herdsmen who have come with unto some unscrupulous Nigerian herdsmen. The informant argues as follows:

You hardly can tell those responsible for the cattle rustling, but the contact between the local herdsmen and those from neighbouring countries has aggravated this heinous act. Our borders are porous, and the herdsmen enter with arms gotten from other parts of Africa where conflicts are very common. All the cattle rustlers arrested in this local government are from Niger Republic that came through Zamfara State (In-depth Interview with R19).

The responses above, have established the fact that herdsmen, who are mostly youth from within Nigeria and the neighbouring countries, dominate cattle rustling in the study area. However, there were a few from other ethnic groups. The figure below indicates that rape is one of the heinous acts visited on female visitors by the rustles.

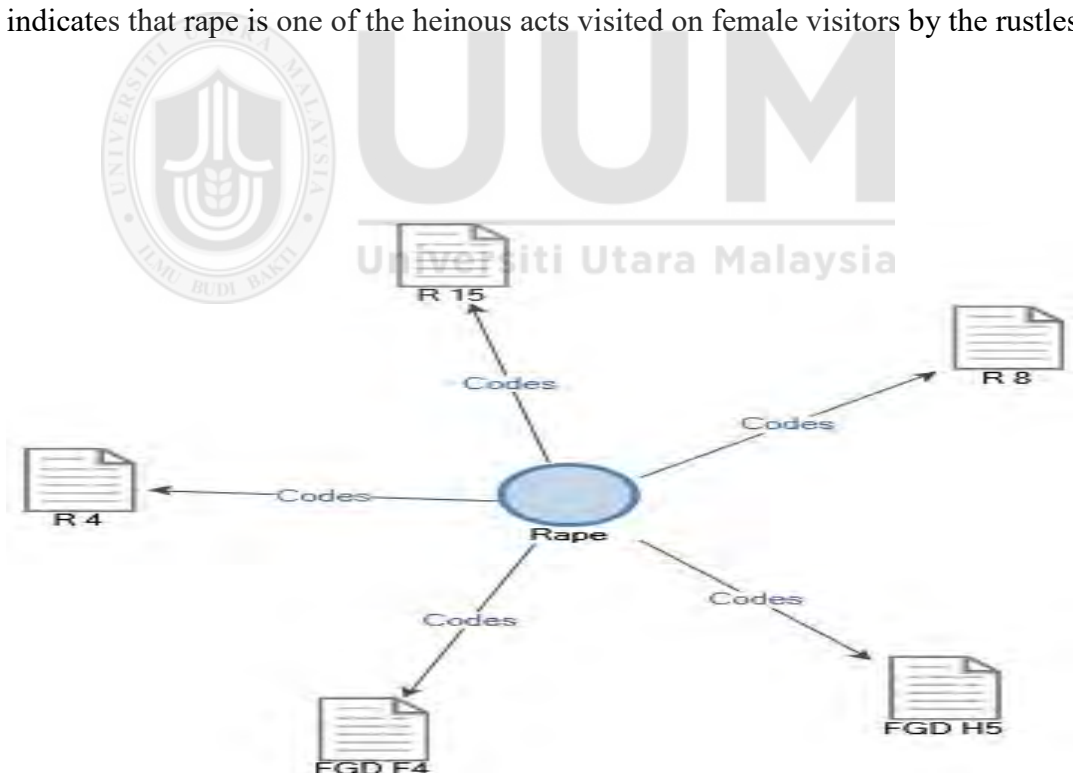


Figure 4.12: Rape
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Figure 4.12 shows sub-theme of rape and the number of interviewees that discussed it.

More discussions on this phenomenon are done below

4.6.8 Rape

The criminal code section 357 of Nigeria defines rape as: any person who has unlawful carnal knowledge of a woman or a girl without her consent. If the consent is obtained by force or by means of threats or intimidation of any kind, or for fear of harm or by means of false and fraudulent representation as to the nature of the act, or in the case of a married woman by impersonating her husband is guilty of an offense which is called rape (Nigerian Criminal Code). The crime of rape in Nigeria is regarded as a heinous offense liable for life imprisonment (Boniface, Jude & Obinna, 2014). However, the crime of rape still exists despite the gravity of the penalty in Nigeria. For instance, an informant told us: “Yes, they use to rape. The last time they came here they raped about three victims. Our people hardly expose rape because of the fear of stigma” (R15). “It is unfortunate that, cattle rustlers do come with three intentions -the rustling of our cattle, kidnapping and raping of our daughters” (R4 and R8). This is very dangerous to the survival of the rural populace.

The two informants that commented on rape also agreed that the cattle rustlers do rape during their operation. Their made submissions are:

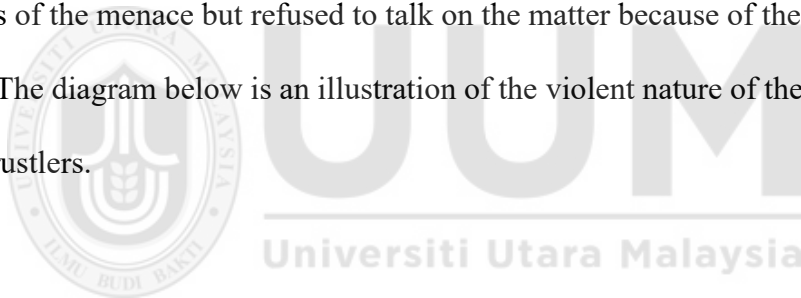
They do participate in rape whenever they come and meet young women. The last time they went to my friend's village they took his two wives to the bush and raped them. One of them became unconscious for more than two weeks. They were taken to the hospital for medical check-up. In fact, that was not the first time, let

me tell you, people may not like to discuss this issue with you because of its sensitivity and the stigma attached to it (FGD F4).

Another informant also corroborated the position above when he submits:

The cattle rustlers do kidnap and rape our women. This is frightening and unfortunate. Yes, my cousin's wife was raped to death last three years ago. (in tears he adds) May Allah forgive all her sins (FGD H5).

Though there were no much submissions on rape as one of the acts perpetrated during cattle rustling in the study area, yet the study shows that did happen in other areas. The low response on rape was not unconnected with the stigma attached to the crime. The researcher observed from the body language of some of the informants who were likely victims of the menace but refused to talk on the matter because of the stigma attached to it. The diagram below is an illustration of the violent nature of the activities of the cattle rustlers.



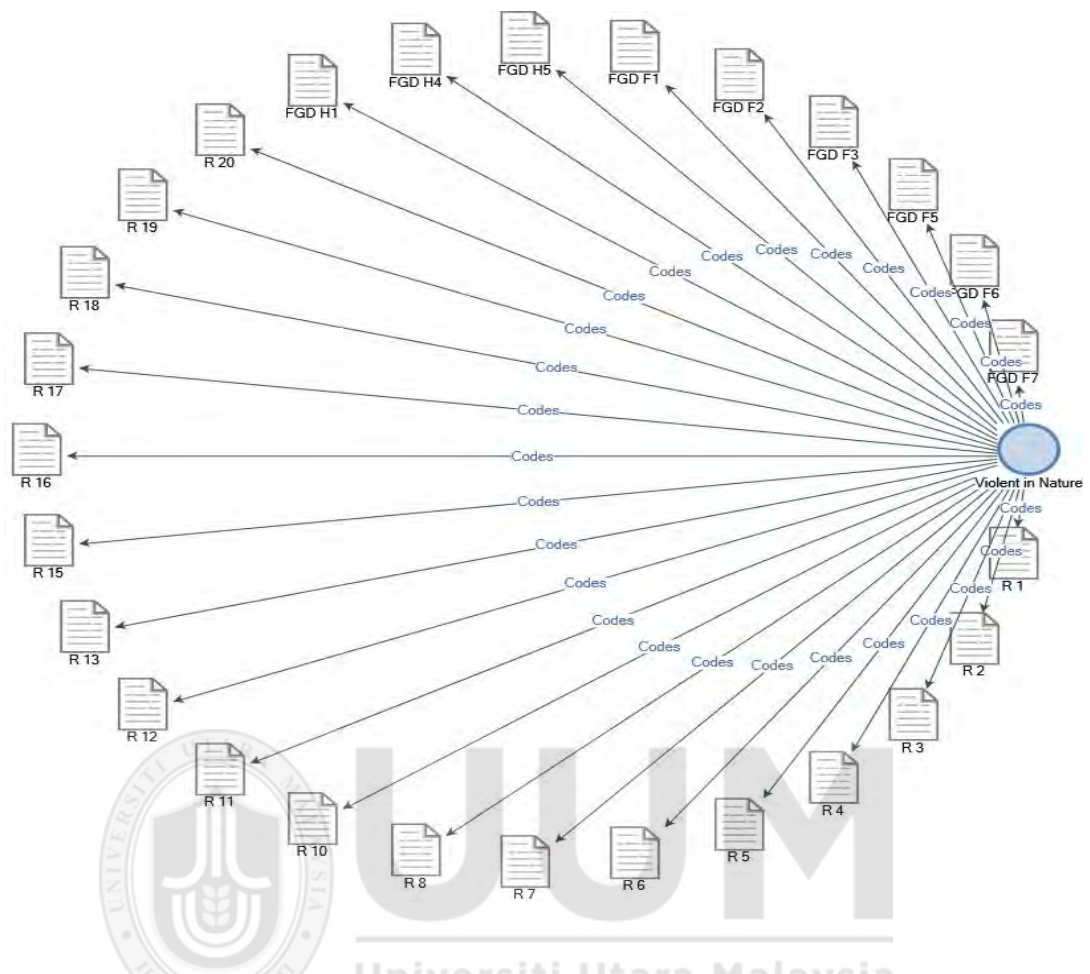


Figure 4.13: Violent Nature of the Operations of the Cattle Rustlers
 Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.6.9 Violent Nature of the Operations of the Cattle Rustlers

The violent nature of cattle rustling explains what they use during their operations. Cattle rustling has become more confrontational in nature. In the course large number of livestock is lost to the marauders and the female victims who could be taken away are regarded as slaves (Morris, 2010). All the informants interviewed agreed that cattle rustling is violent in nature and that informed their reason for using sophisticated arms. They maim, beat-up and kill their victims violently. Some of the key informants make the following submissions: “They come in a group of not less than 40 to 50 with

sophisticated arms to rustle cattle and kidnap people in the rural communities and kill anyone that attempted to resist” (R19, R2). “They come in numbers with their arms, not minding your presence to forcefully collect the cattle no matter their number and go with them. They have killed many that attempted to resist” (R6). “They are dangerous and violent in nature. They have killed many people. Most of them act under the influence of drugs” (FGD F1).

Another informant says:

They do come in the night fully armed. In fact, they fire several sporadic gunshots to scare their victims. You cannot even think of coming out. Sometimes people think of calling for help had to change their minds because of their heavy arms and number, one had no other option but to allow them to carry out their dubious acts. Sometimes, they set our houses ablaze at the time of departure (In-depth Interview with R4).

An informant and an arrested cattle rustler also explained the way they operate. He says:

I have two types of guns: AK 49 and Zee 3 My boys carry Ak 47. These are the arms we use and are always in our possession. We only beat victims if they decided not to cooperate with us. Yes, if the victims want to kill us or they want to run away we use our arms to kill them. I can remember killing ten of my victims. They were all trying to run away after we had kidnapped them. The herdsmen also have guns and if you are not ready to kill, they will kill you. We beat people whenever we want relatives of a victim to pay the ransom (In-depth Interview with R18).

In the FGD, conducted, all the informants also agreed that cattle rustling is violent in the study area. One of the key informants:

You must not necessarily resist before they beat or kill you. The last time they came they were harsh to us because they did not get the

cattle they expected to get. They beat my child to tell them where we hid the cattle. Members here can all testify to what I am saying. They even kidnapped this old man during that visit (FGD H1).

The submissions above indicate that cattle rustling in the study area is violent as the rustlers use offensive arms like AK 47. Sometimes, some of the victims are left injured while others are killed. In the next subsection, we will attempt to look at some of the negative effects of cattle rustling on the affected communities.

4.7 The Effects of Cattle Rustling on the Well-being the of Rural Communities

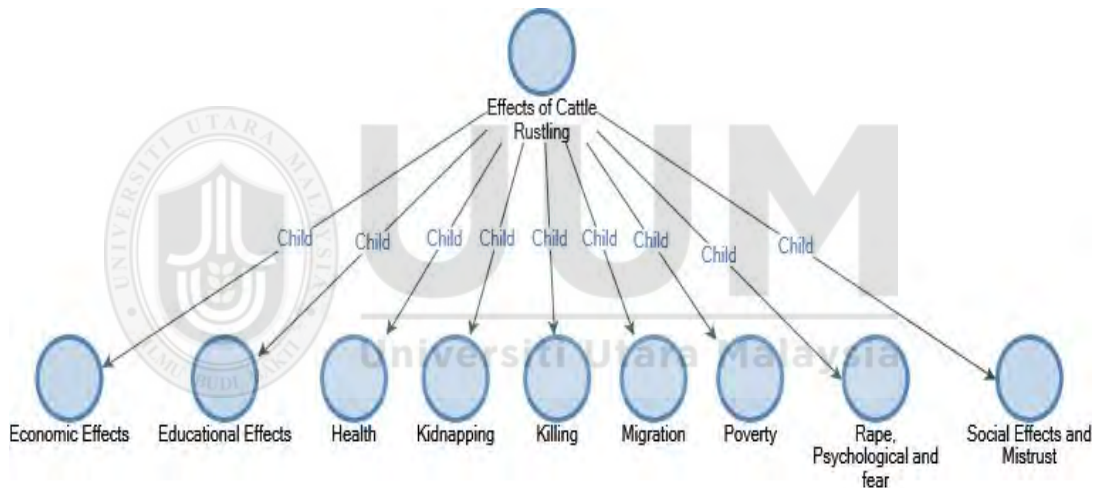


Figure 4.14: Cattle Rustling and the Well-Being of Rural Communities
Source: Field work, 2018

Figure 4.14 above shows the sub-themes of the first theme in this chapter, i.e., the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities in Kaduna State. Nine sub-themes identified for the theme are: economic, educational, health, kidnapping, killing, poverty, rape psychological fear, social effects and mistrust. The figure below presents the first subtheme that is the economic effects of cattle rustling on the victims.

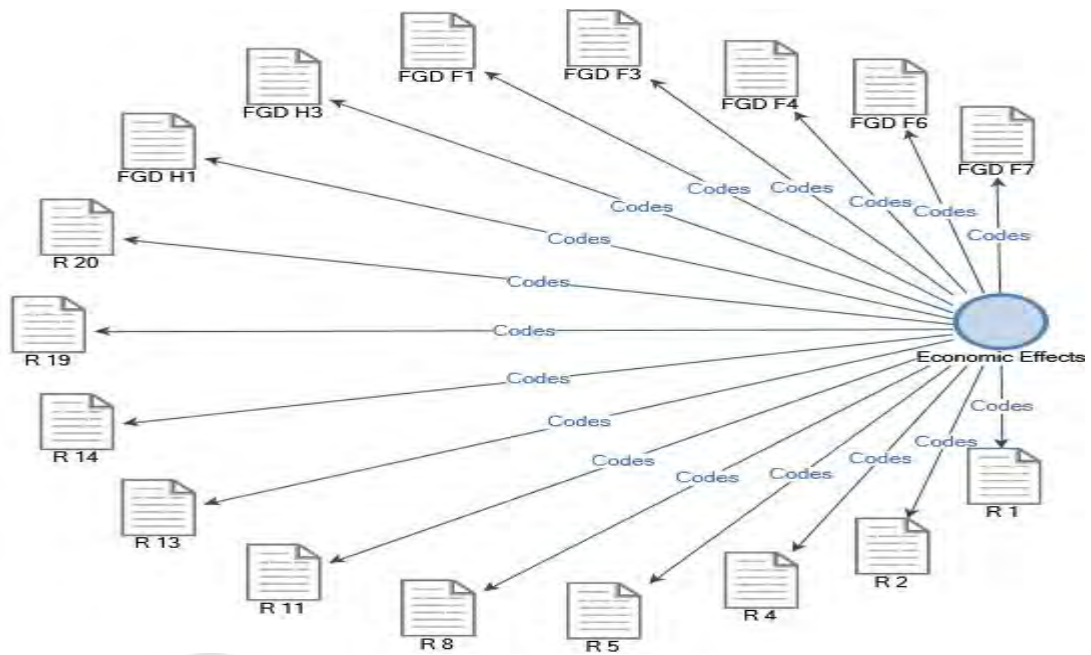


Figure 4.15: Economic Effects of Cattle Rustling

Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

Figure 4.15 shows the sub-theme on effects of the cattle rustling on the communities: The sub-theme has 17 informants who talked to us on the economic effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of the people in the affected rural communities.

4.7.1 Economic Effects of Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State

The economy of the rural communities in Kaduna State is based on agriculture, pastoralism, fishing, and petty trading. Cattle rustling has drastically affected these economic systems in various degrees. For instance, Olaniyan and Yahaya, (2016) found that the activities of cattle rustling have constituted a major danger to the economy and the living standard of the pastoralists and those who rely on livestock production for survival in rural communities. All the IDIs and FGDs conducted agreed

that cattle rustling has affected their economy. One of the informants has argued as follows: “our major economic activities are farming; animal rearing as well as selling farm products and animals in our markets. These activities have been negatively affected. You cannot keep animals because of these criminals” (FGD F1). Again, another informant, in support of the above, says, “The (cattle rustling has really affected our economy. Our weekly markets are no more, and farmers no longer farm for the fear of being kidnapped. In fact, our economy is useless dying on account of their attacks” (R5). During one of the FGDs conducted by us, the farming as path of the rural responded that also affected “Cattle rustling has affected our economy in general. Some of us no longer go to farm because of the fear of the criminals. If they come for cattle rustling and could not get the cattle, they resorted to kidnapping” (FGD F4). A cattle rustler -and an informant -also indicate how their activities affect the rural economy: “Sometimes, we attack them in the market and collect their money since they no longer keep cattle” (R1). This, therefore, shows that cattle rustling has affected virtually all aspect of the rural economy; in fact, illegal ones inclusive.

In one of the focus group discussions conducted with farmers, the informants argued that the economy, as well as the well-being of the people, were affected because of the activities of cattle rustlers. One of them has this to say:

I have inherited farming and livestock from my grandparents. But now, I don't have a single cow because they have been stolen and I sold the rest for fear of raids. I am not a Fulani man. Nonetheless, I hitherto kept cattle for farming, but I have no option but to sell them at giveaway prices. Now, because I no longer have cattle I cannot farm as I was doing before, I don't have animals to sell for upkeep, buying of fertilizer and other farming implements has become

impossible. Life is very difficult for us now. Yes, because I don't have money. So, my well-being is affected (FGD F6).

In another FGD conducted with some herdsmen, the informants were of the view that cattle rustling has also affected their well-being. One of them has argued as follows:

I am a Fulani man with cattle and there is nothing in this world I value like my livestock. Yes, even my wives I don't value them like my cattle because if I don't have the livestock, they will not stay with me as wives (laughter for a while). We buy all we eat, clothes for our children and ourselves. Suddenly, all of these activities suffered on account of cattle rustling. In fact, even our neighbours -the farmers to whom we sell animals and milk are negatively affected. Our life is miserable. No one is happy here (FGD H1).

An IDI conducted with a local government chairman has also confirms the above submissions. Some of the informants in his community are not happy on account of the activities of the cattle rustlers in the area. His submissions are as follows:

There are a lot of effects, on both the farmers and the herdsmen. Last year's production of crops even with support from government, was low because of the fear of cattle rustling Giwa local government area has the largest foodstuff market in the state. Because of cattle rustling, the market is no longer busy, the bank close to the market was closed because of the dreaded criminals. I am sure they are not happy too (In-depth Interview with R19).

During one of the IDIs conducted by us, some of the respondents agreed that cattle rustling had affected the rural economy. One of the interviewees responded as follows:

Economy, "haba!" (a sign of being surprised for asking such a question). You know very well that the only source of livelihood of a Fulani man is cattle. It is from cattle they get milk that their wives sell for their day-to-day expenditure, and they have been rustled, this has affected the economy. They are made useless and again, the little things they buy from farmers in the local market no longer exist. They have destroyed the rural economy by force. It is unfortunate (In-depth Interview with R2).

One of the experts on cattle rustling, pastoralists and farmers conflict also talked on cattle rustling as it affects rural communities. He says:

The menace has devastated the rural economy, Cattle markets have disappeared because most of the cows in the area have been rustled. The owners have migrated out of their communities. Sometimes, the cattle rustlers come and attack the rural communities and rustle their cattle, or they come and kidnap the rich in the village and demand ransom. In a research that we conducted, the production of crops has reduced to more than half in northwest, Nigeria because of cattle rustling (In-depth Interview with R20).

Again, one of the state leaders of the herdsmen in the state concurred with the above submissions. The interviewee stated thus:

Yes, our economy is affected because it has now changed from the normal farming and animal husbandry of the rural economic system to labourer work in the cities, local mining and other menial jobs etc. This has caused food insecurity and leads to all vices in our communities (In-depth Interview with R4).

Observation, as part of the data collection method corroborated the above submissions.

The researcher observed that a very good number of the youths were seen participating in illegal and menial jobs like mining activities, “*Okada riding*” that is using motorcycle for transportation because of the effects of cattle rustling in the study area.

Furthermore, the researcher saw many pieces of farm lands that were abandoned for two to three years without cultivation in the study area. Furthermore, it was also observed that banks were closed in Birnin Gwari and Giwa Local Governments because of the effects of cattle rustling on the local market and the fear of attacks.

Below, we give a diagrammatic representation of the effects of cattle rustling on the educational sector in the affected areas.

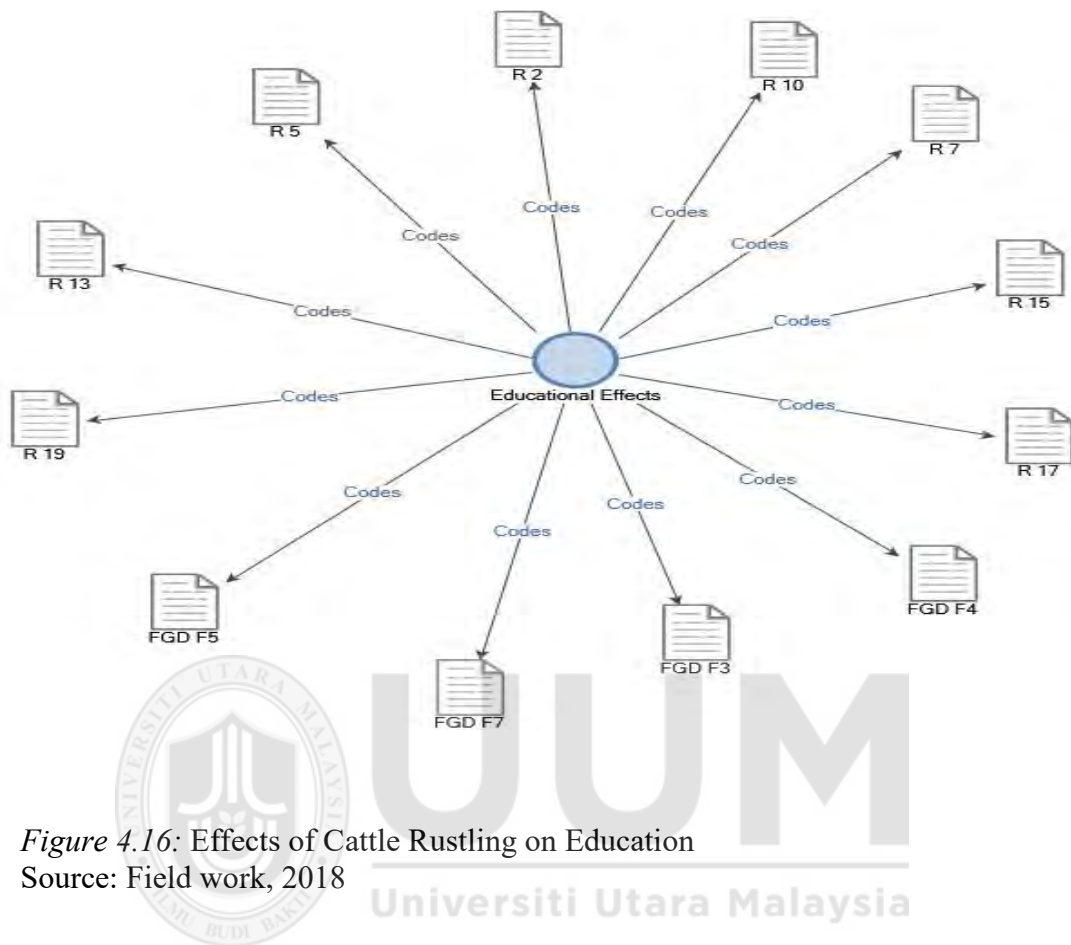


Figure 4.16: Effects of Cattle Rustling on Education
 Source: Field work, 2018

Figure 4.16 above shows the sub-themes on the effects of cattle rustling on the affected areas. The sub-theme has 12 informants who spoke on the effects of cattle rustling the educational fortunes of people in the study area.

4.7.2 Effects of Cattle Rustling on Education

Education is a means of empowering children and adults to become active contributors to the transformation of their immediate environment. Education upgrades the livelihood of citizens and enables them to become better citizens. It is currently a precondition for improving the living standard and strengthens developmental

capacities of people any society (Mimar, 2012). The cultural practice of early marriage and nomadism among herdsmen have been found to influence admission into school and rate of finishing basic primary schools in part of Kenya (Nguyen & Wodon, 2015).

On the contrary, all the informants that spoke on this sub-theme agreed that “teachers in our nomadic primary school no longer come to school for the fear of cattle rustlers or kidnapping” (R13). Another interviewee submits that cattle rustling has affected education: “It has also affected the education of our children. The government has built nomadic education primary schools for our children but, unfortunately, because of the insecurity we moved them and the cattle to safer places” (R 15). In support of the above, another informant said that “our government has invested a lot of money in nomadic primary schools but because of cattle rustling, syllabuses are not always covered” (R19). Furthermore, the next interviewee also strengthens the argument and noted the absence of both teachers and pupils as follows: “We have a nomadic primary school here but because of the activities of the criminals both the teachers and pupils are not always punctual. Teachers do not even teach what they are supposed to teach our children” (R5).

Cattle rustling has also forced children of the herdsmen to relocate to safer communities in the study area, thus affecting education. One of the interviewees has this to say:

Children of herdsmen have moved their cattle to the southern parts of the country for safety. As a result, no one is attending the school again. Furthermore, the teachers have been posted to the urban areas and are no longer coming to school because of the fear of the

cattle rustlers and kidnappers. The school is no more functioning as expected (In-depth Interview with R2).

The argument above was further supported by one of the leaders of the herdsmen. In his submission, he said that their children have been moved out of the community. He adds:

Cattle rustling has affected the educational sector in this community because school attendance has dropped. Teachers are no longer punctual. Consequently, what was expected to be covered cannot be taught. In fact, some of the schools have been closed for years now (In-depth Interview with R5).

Fifteen newly employed primary school teachers posted to Dogon-Dawa a rural community in Birnin-Gwari local government, were attacked and robbed of all their valuable items, including money and credentials. The teachers had vowed not to teach in the rural communities of the local government anymore (Abdulgafar, 2018). One of the informants observed that attacks on schools have also affected education:

The students, teachers, and other staff have lost their lives because of the frequent attacks. These inputs fear in both the students and the teachers which completely affects teaching and learning in the educational sector of the rural communities (FGD F5 and FGD F4).

In some communities, the researcher observed that there were schools without teachers and pupils because of the menace. Furthermore, some were not in good shape and were deserted. The researcher was also made to understand that the teachers were afraid to go to the community as the pupils had moved the cattle to safer places to escape cattle rustling. The researcher observed that some conventional schools and nomadic primary schools (special school for herdsmen) we are no longer functioning. Below are pictures of abandoned and dilapidated primary schools in some of the study areas.



Figure 4.17: Abandoned Primary School in one of the Local Government Areas.
Source: Fieldwork, 2018.



Figure 4.18: Abandoned Primary School in one of the Local Government Areas
Source: Field work, 2018.

Findings have shown that the cattle rustling has negatively affected the smooth running of some primary schools. Since the syllabus are not covered because off the erratic of schools, there is increase in school dropouts, in the study area. The school calendars were also tempered with in most elementary schools in Kenya where they are sometimes closed for a whole session (Serem & Ronoh, 2012). This will surely affect

the pupils' performance at school. Below, is the figure on the effects of cattle rustling on the provision of health.

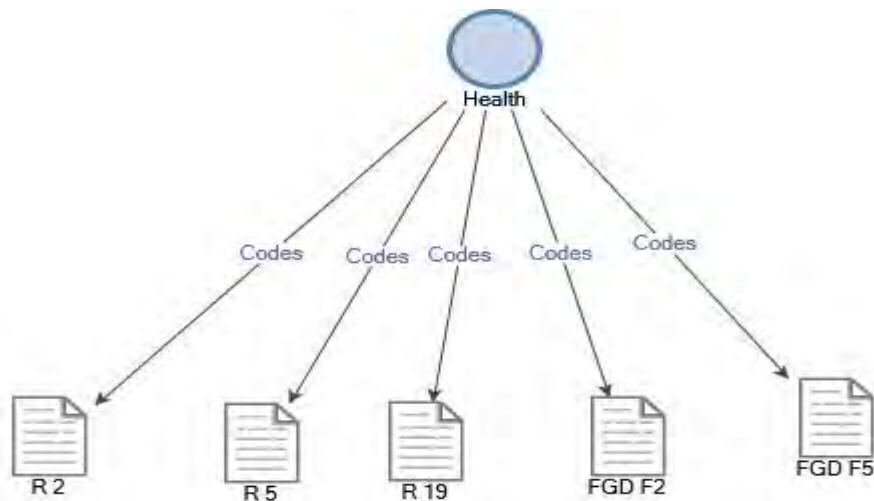


Figure 4.19: Effects of Cattle Rustling on provision of healthcare
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

The Figure above shows the sub-theme for research question three, and five informants responded to the question.

4.7.3 Effects of Cattle Rustling on the Healthcare

Healthy living is a state of complete mental, physical and general wellness of the individual or group of people. Health is, therefore, very important to the general well-being of people in every society. Health (primary healthcare) facilities play very important roles in the maintenance of a health community. The well-being of every society depends on the healthy state of that society (Wilson-Tagoe, 2013).

One of the effects of Cattle rustling on the communities slated for the study is the neglect or abandonment of facilities in the affected areas in Kaduna State. One of the informants during the FGDs says, “hospital officials do not come again. This is just an empty building. Most of us now use traditional medicines because we have no other option” (FGD F2). Furthermore, another informant says “If you are sick you cannot get a hospital nearby. My wife died last year when she was to give birth. She died on our way to the city where you get primary health care units about 18 kilometres from our village” (R5). The chairman of one of the local government areas and a key informant stated that, “The government has done well, but cattle rustling has frustrated the good efforts”. The informant further argued as that follows “The present government has invested heavily in hospitals in the rural communities, more than 26 primary healthcare centres were renovated, and drugs supplied. But unfortunately, nurses are afraid to live in the rural communities despite the incentives given to them” (R19). Another informant, holding a different view contradicts an argument that is reported to have said: “The small hospital we have has been deserted. No nurses, no government presence: This has seriously affected the health status of our people. What we do is to send someone to buy drugs in the nearest chemist (for our use)” (R2).

Another informant, and a leader of a section of the herdsmen, also emphasised on the effects the cattle rustling on the health facilities and the people health in general. His argument is as follows:

The Cattle rustling has affected the health sector in this community, now we must travel for more than 20 kilometres to take our wives and children to the hospital in the urban centres because nurses are afraid of coming here to work, sometimes before we reach the health

facility in the urban centre, the patient dies (In-depth Interview with R5).

Participants in one of the FGDs conducted by us have noted that cattle rustling has affected the livelihood of the rural populace. One of the negatively say:

The only health facility around us is in the next village. Sometimes, you go there and find the nurses are not there because of the fear of cattle rustling. We don't have any option but to go to the urban centre to buy drugs from the chemist. Sometimes, the drugs are not even good for consumption. My son is presently sick, and I have no means of conveying him to the hospital in the city (In-depth Interview with FGD F5).

The researcher has in the course of data collection, observed that some primary healthcare centres were deserted for some time now. Furthermore, the state of the primary health centres clearly shows that they have not been used for a long time. Below is an example of one of the abandoned and dilapidated primary healthcare centres in Giwa Local Government Area; Kaduna State



Figure 4.20: Abandoned Primary Healthcare Centre in one of the Local Government Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

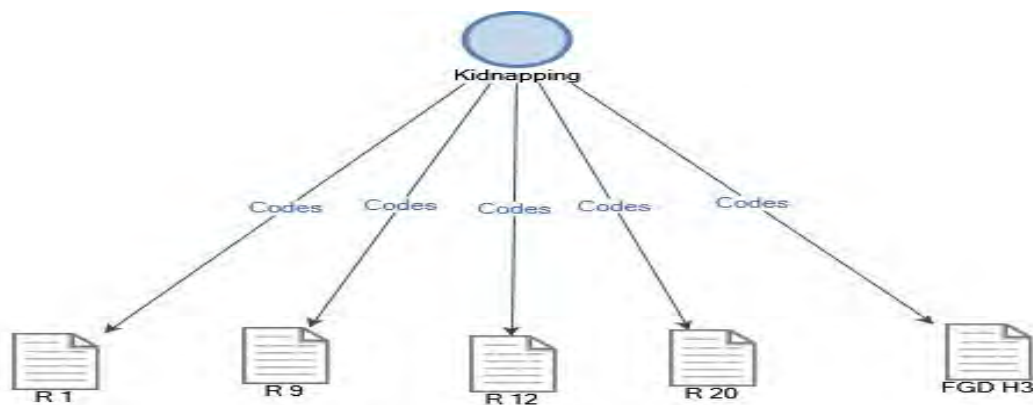


Figure 4.21: Kidnapping
Source: Field work, 2018

Figure 4.21 above shows the sub-theme and the number of interviewees who answered the questions on kidnapping as one of the effects of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State, Nigeria.

4.7.4 Kidnapping

The incidence of kidnapping in Nigeria has many negative effects in the economy, livelihood and development of the country (Aghedo, 2015). while Kidnappers in the southern parts of Nigeria go for expatriates oil workers to make money, their counterparts in the north go to the rural communities where herdsmen and farmers are perpetually kidnapped for ransom (Oyewole, 2016). They kidnap and kill anyone whose family refuses to pay the ransom stipulated. “About four years ago, that is 2014, they came to our village, collected our cattle, kidnapped my brother’s wife, raped her after which they got the ransom was given to them. The woman died because of the trauma she went through” (FGD H3).

One of the cattle rustlers interviewed agreed that they also kidnap and demand for money. The interviewee has this to say:

Yes, we sometimes kidnap and keep the victim for weeks before money is brought to us. Sometimes, we threaten the victims so that they talk to their people to bring the money. We demand for good money. Some time ago we were given six million for the two women that we kidnapped along Abuja road. If the family of the victim refused to respond we do away with (kill) the victims to send a warning for the next persons, that we will kidnap (In-depth Interview with R1).

Another cattle rustler who was interviewed by us said that they kidnap because they get more money from kidnapping than the get from cattle rustling:

Yes, we do resort kidnapping whenever we go for cattle rustling and we could not get. In fact, kidnapping is more lucrative than cattle rustling. The last time we kidnapped a herdsman we got more than four million naira. You see we hardly get this amount of money from cattle rustling. When you have someone in your custody you don't have to waste your time looking for who will buy the rustled cattle (In-depth Interview with R12).

Another informant also agreed that there is no difference between the cattle rustlers and kidnapers. Moreover, the evil activities of these set of people have negatively affected their well-being:

The cattle rustlers are those that kidnap, attack innocent farmers and rustle the cattle of the herdsmen. They usually go with the intention to either rustle cattle or kidnap the rich person in the rural communities. Last year, more than five persons were kidnapped, and ransom was given to them before they were freed. I don't know how much the families of the victims paid, but for the leaders of the herdsmen, their union had paid four million to secure the victim's freedom. This has really affected their well-being by making them victims of circumstances (In-depth Interview with R20).

A victim and a key informant further stresses on the above argument he explains his predicament. The informant has this to say:

In Chikun and Kajuru local government areas along the cattle rustlers have kidnapped over 148 Fulani. They are cattle rustlers because they have been arrested several times. Those, that they kidnapped and freed confirmed that they were cattle rustlers. Out of those they kidnapped here were males and females and more than 50, who are mostly females were still not freed (In-depth Interview with R9).

The figure below indicates killings of victims as one of the fallouts of cattle rustling on the affected communities.

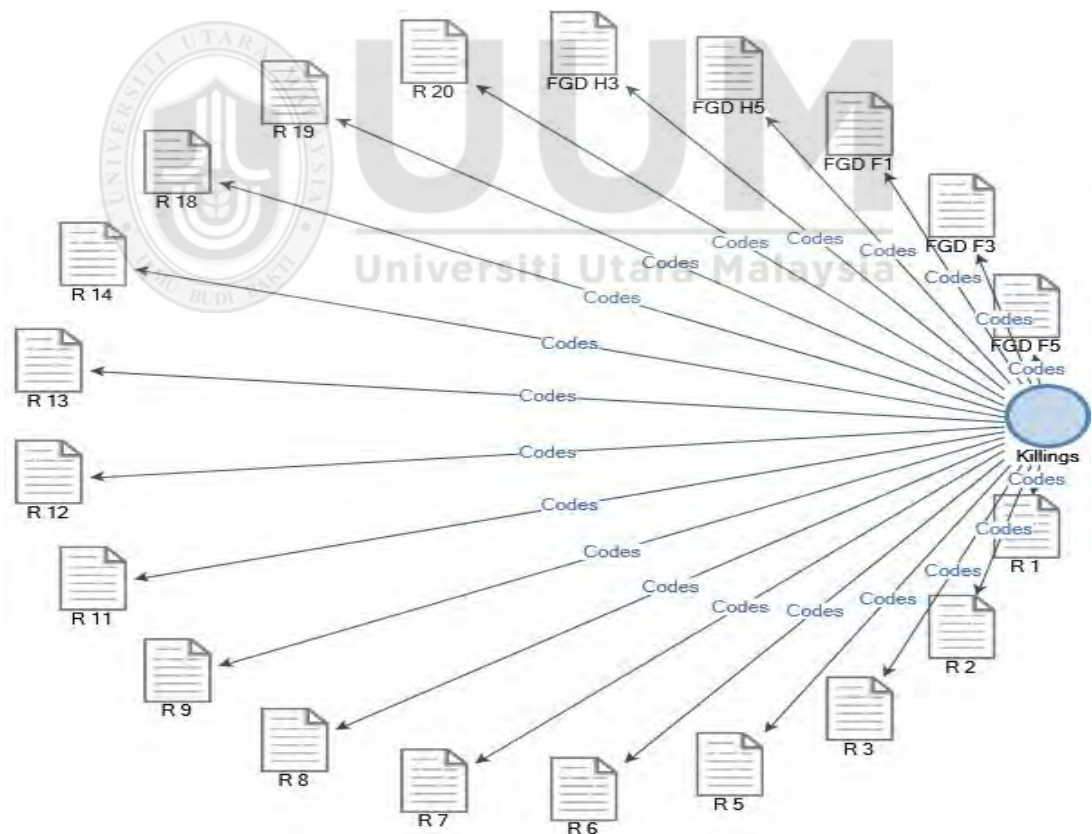


Figure 4.22: Killings and the Informants
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.7.5 Killings

Findings show another sub-theme for research question three: killing as one of the effects of cattle rustling on the study area. Twenty informants spoke on killing as one of the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of the rural populace. One of the rustlers confesses thus: “Yes, I have killed some victims because we saw them with arms. You cannot allow them to kill now. However, our group leader is always asking us not to kill. But sometimes you have no option but to kill” (R1). Another informant observed that: “I had a brother-in-law who lost up to 500 of his cattle and was later killed by the attackers” (R9). One other informant noted that: “The last time that they came to our settlement, they killed 6 youths and set some houses ablaze. The situation was pathetic” (R5). “For the herdsmen, they came to collect cattle in hundreds, maybe 200, 300, etc., killed the herdsman taking care of them and moved the herd to a different direction” (R3). Killings during cattle rustling have gone beyond herdsmen and farmers as “many security personnel.... were also killed. I cannot mention how many were killed” (R6). Rustling of cattle in Nigeria has taken a violent dimension of torture and killing of victims, without minding the consequences (Olaniyan, & Yahaya, 2016). The indiscriminate nature of killing by kidnappers was furthermore corroborated by one of our respondents as below:

They do kill innocent souls in the areas they go for their noted operations. For example, when they went to our neighbouring community, they fired sporadic gunshots which led to the death of six people and rustling of many cattle. I am telling you they don't mind killing whosoever they want to kill (FGD F5).

All the cattle rustlers interviewed agreed to have killed victims at the time of their operations. Furthermore, one of the informants gave his justifications for the killing of the victims:

I have killed so many people and drank their blood. I can remember killing about 10 victims. I killed an old man whom we kidnapped and said he had no money to pay as ransom. Killing him served him better. So, I gunned him down (In-depth Interview with R12).

Another cattle rustler gave different reasons submission on the reasons that prompted him to kill his victims during their out:

Yes, I have killed many herdsmen. Sometimes, we become remorseful after killing because we operate under the influence of alcohol and drugs. I cannot remember how many people I have killed so far. Some of the factors that make us to kill during our operations are (1) familiarity with the captives; (2) when the victims want to kill us; (3) or run away (In-depth Interview with R18).

A chairman of one of the local government areas confirmed the frequency of killings by because of the cattle rustlers in the study area. The informant added that

There is hardly a security meeting without a report of killings by the cattle rustlers. I cannot recall the exact number of those killed since I assumed office as the chairman of this local government area, but sincerely speaking many innocent souls have lost their lives as a result of the heinous activities of the rustlers. I have set up a committee to ascertain the number of those killed since we assumed office. I am sure that will be readily available at the end of the month; that is during the next security meeting (In-depth Interview with R19).

Furthermore, another informant notes as follows:

I told you that many of those know to us have been killed. Again, if you listen to the radio, that is always the news. They use guns to kill people. They have killed many and this has made many of us feel insecure here, as they are not selective in their killings, Sometimes, they kill more females and children (In-depth Interview with R2).

Another informant also that killings by the cattle rustlers had affected the well-being of the rural dwellers. He says:

They came to our village around 5 pm and collected our cattle from my brother. They killed him and left with the 140 cattle that the whole family was relying on. We were forced to leave the area because they come at any time of the day. Killing my brother has left me with his two wives that were raped and his 13 children while I have my 6 children too. The two wives of my late brother were stigmatized that you hardly get anyone that will marry them. I am in a serious trauma (In-depth Interview with R7).

One the informants has, so far establish on the fact that killing is one of the effects of cattle rustling on the rural communities of Kaduna State. The cattle rustlers do kill indiscriminately during their operations. This has really affected the well-being of the rural populace. The figure below represents migration as one of the negative effects of rustling on the affected areas in Kaduna state.

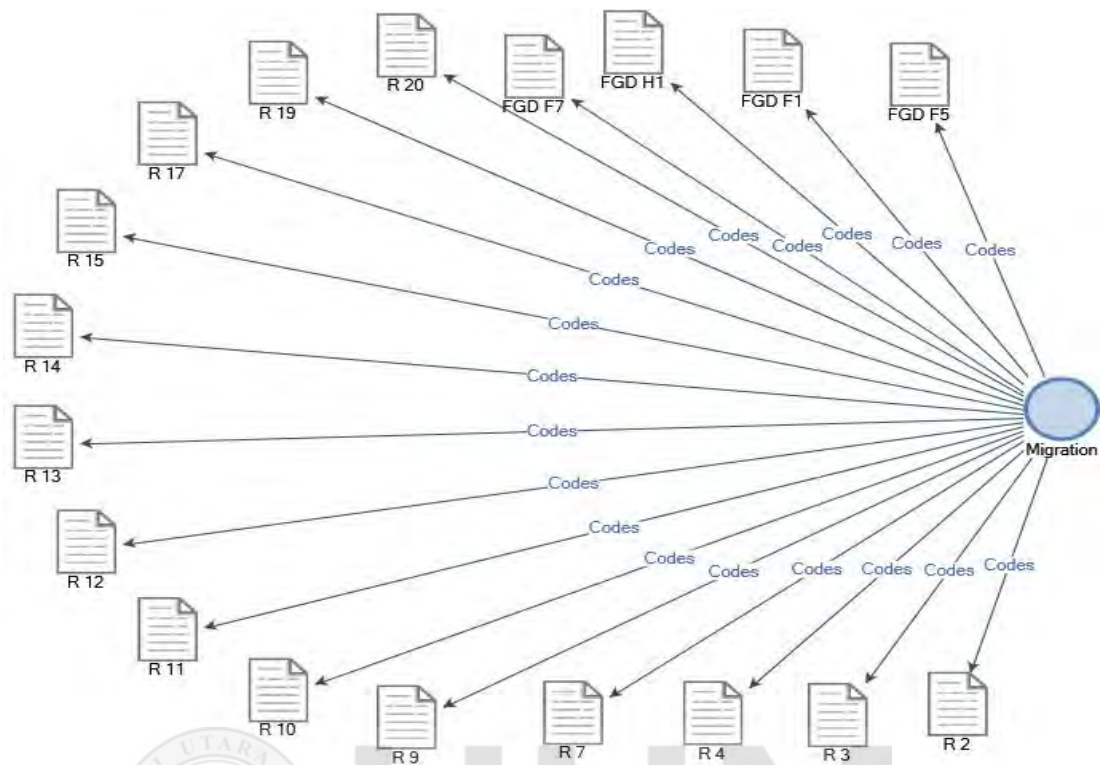


Figure 4.23: Migration
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Figure 4.23 above also shows the sub-theme and the number of interviewees who responded to our question on migration as one of the effects of cattle rustling on the study area.

4.7.6 Migration

Migration from the rural communities has two-way effects. In rural community's migration leads to food insecurity, thereby having a negative effect on the subjective well-being of the people in the rural communities. Furthermore, migration leads to unemployment and overcrowding in the urban centres (Nguyen, Raabe, & Grote, 2015). It has been observed that higher level of migration leads to decrease in the well-being of the older people, lower-income earners, and the unemployed. On the

other hand, migration increase the migration increases life expectancy and well-being among employed, better educated, and higher income earners (Ivlevs & Veliziotis, 2018). “Many youths have left the villages for fear of being kidnapped by cattle rustlers. This has seriously affected our well-being. As a result, you have no young ones to help you around” (R13). “Most of our youths have moved to the southern parts of Nigeria. These are safer states and with available pasture for the livestock to graze. This trend unfortunately, affected us negatively” (R14). “Some herdsmen communities have deserted their areas, leaving the children without western and Islamic education” (R17). One of the cattle rustlers says, “We have once set a blazed a community we went and saw they have deserted the area and left only an old man” (R12). This shows that the people have migrated because of cattle rustling and their properties burnt.

Informants from the FGDs conducted show that cattle rustling has led people to desert their homes. This migration has consequently, affected the well-being of the rural populace in the study area. For instance, one of the key informants says;

Most of the youths deserted the villages for the fear of the cattle rustler. This has affected the well-being of the generality of the people in this rural community because they are the able-bodied that work in the farm for crop production. Now that they are in the city, we are seriously affected because of the food insecurity we are facing (FGD F1).

Lack of any meaningful employment opportunity in the rural communities is observed to be as one of the main reasons for rural-urban migration in Africa. In addition, the youths move to the urban centres due to the current conflicts because they are scared of becoming victims or joining the criminals (Greiner, 2011). Another informant says:

“The youths who constitutes our workforce have decided to migrate to the cities for employment as menial worker because of the activities of the cattle rustlers. Since most of us here are old, we do not have the young ones that will helps us. Our well-being is affected because we don’t have anyone to assist us” (FGD F7).

Similarly, another participant has observed that:

Cattle rustling has led many youths to migrate from our communities to the urban centres because nothing is happening here again. The rich men from the city used to come here for commercial farming and the youths work for money. Now there is nothing like that (FGD F5).

Migration in India has both negative and positive effects. Brain drain, talent shortage, brain gain, and financial resources have been observed as some of the negative effects of migration on the Indian Nation (Dubey, 2015). Speaking on youth migration and its negative effects on rural communities in Nigeria, one of our respondents says:

Some of our youths migrated to the city because they refused to join the cattle rustlers. This has drastically affected crop production here. Most of us now go to the city to buy foodstuffs that were produced in the rural communities before now. You see, this has led to food insecurity in this place (FGD H1).

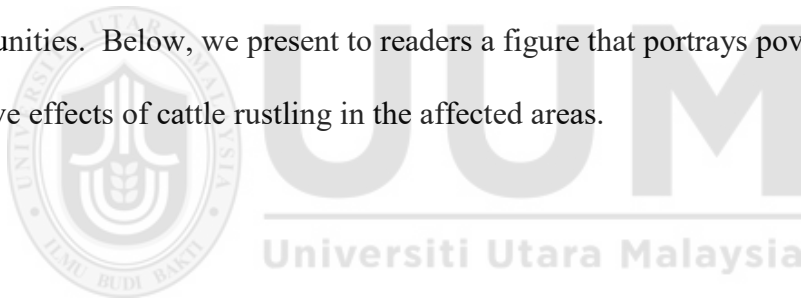
However, an informant gave reasons that will not allow him to migrate to the urban centres. His reasons are as follows:

My house and that of this my neighbour are the only two houses remaining here. All the others have left to the cities. We cannot move to the city because we are old, and we are the leaders there. Furthermore, we have our domestic animals like chickens, sheep and goats that cannot be moved to the city (In-depth Interview with R10).

Again, insecurity has been mentioned as one of the factors that led to migration. The interviewees have argued as follows:

The youths and the cattle have been moved to a safer community (Anchau) in Kubau Local government area along Plateau State. It is one of the few local government areas in the rural Kaduna State without the experience of cattle rustling or kidnapping. This has caused food insecurity in the rural community (In-depth Interview with R2 and R4).

From our discussions so far, most of the interviewees are of the view that rural youth migrate to the urban centres because of the activities of the cattle rustlers in the study area. The migrants had to move to safer places where there are no cattle rustling experiences. This has affected the well-being of the elderly that they left in the rural communities. Below, we present to readers a figure that portrays poverty as one of the negative effects of cattle rustling in the affected areas.



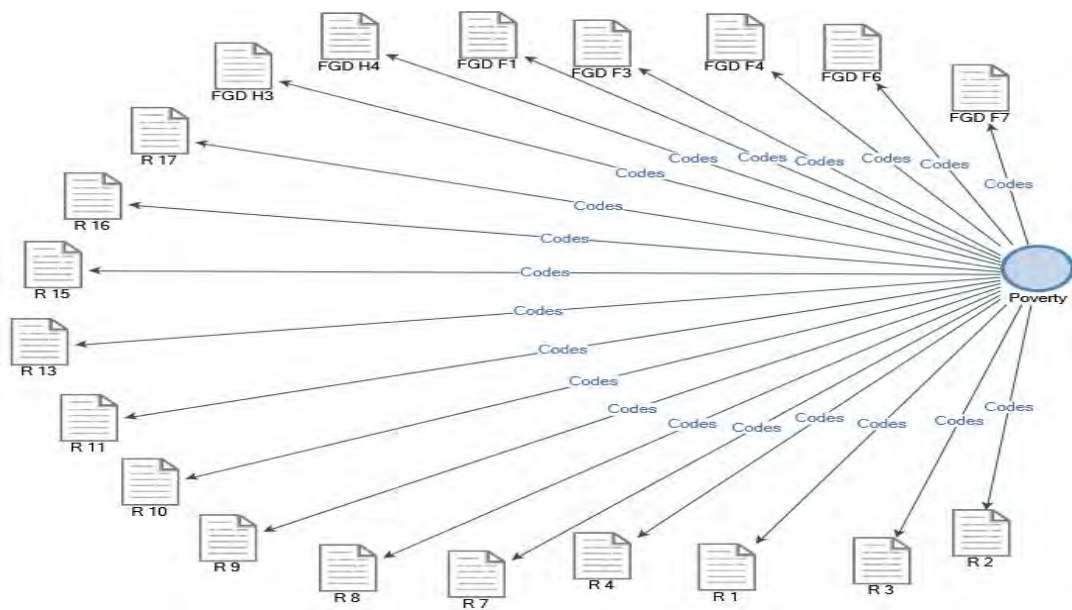


Figure 4.24: Poverty
Source: Field work, 2018

The figure above shows the sub-theme of poverty; the sub-theme has 20 informants who spoke on poverty and how it was caused by the cattle rustling in the study area.

4.7.7 Poverty

The practice of cattle rustling, common amongst pastoralists societies in Kenya, destabilizes their communities and their usual sources of livelihood, thereby, contributing to increased poverty among the rural communities (Kaimba *et al.*, 2011). Again, destitution and poverty are noticeable in the kind of livelihood activities such as undertaken by the displaced herdsman. These activities comprise basketry, small-scale farming and petty trader (Schilling *et al.*, 2012). Our findings have shown that cattle rustling led to higher rate of poverty in the research area. For instance, one of the informants says, “Big cattle owners were forced to sell them at giveaway prices.

This has impoverished both the farmers and the herdsmen for they are interdependent and interrelated” (R16). Another person added that “The activity (the activities of cattle rustlers) has pauperized the Fulanis who are known to be hardworking and independent. Unfortunately, they are now reduced to beggars and criminals” (R4). “Cattle rustlers have made it difficult for the Fulanis to afford food and food and clothes. The most unfortunate is that our youths are begging and resorted to doing menial jobs” (R9). One the informants and a cattle rustler testified to that: “we no longer go to the rural communities for rustling because we cannot get money or cattle from them like before” (R1). The situation is so bad that “a herdsman with more than 100 cattle before has none now and he must eat. This informed why some of our youths have joined the cattle rustlers (for survival)” (FGD H3).

One of the divisional police officers interviewed also agreed that cattle rustling has inflicted poverty on the rural populace. He says:

Honestly, cattle rustling has drastically affected their lifestyle in the sense that if you are a herdsman, they end up collecting all and leaving you with nothing, making you poor, whereas Fulani’s lifestyle depends on the cattle. Cases of cattle rustling brought here shown that those involved ventured into it because of poverty (In-depth Interview with R3).

Another informant speaks in line with the above position when he says:

Cattle rustling has created a very high level of unemployment, poverty and made many youths in the rural community criminals. All activities in those communities have been grounded by cattle rustling.... In fact, they cannot afford to go not to common hospital no to talk of meeting other essential needs (In-depth Interview with R11).

Another informant argued that cattle rustling had forced him into doing a menial job like riding a motorcycle for survival

They have cripple all of us and made us very poor we don't have any tangible means of livelihood to fall back on. None of us learn any trade and we have no formal education. I have no place to cultivate, no house to live in, no food to eat and orphans are left for me because of this calamity. As you can see, I am now an okada rider. The motorcycle was bought for me by someone that I am paying in instalments (In-depth Interview with R7).

At the FGD conducted with the farmers, one of the informants also confirmed that cattle rustling had made him poor. His argument is:

I cannot take care of myself because of cattle rustling. When three months ago, I gave my daughter out for marriage, I nearly cried because I had nothing to sell and buy for her the require items. I was not a herdsman, but I had having cattle which served as major source of income. Whenever I had a financial related problem I fell back on the herd of cattle. Unfortunately, we were forced to sell them by the rustlers (FGD F6).

On a contrary view, Other informants who hold contrary views, said that cattle rustling has not in any way, caused poverty in their communities. It has, help to rather, improve their sources:

As farmers, cattle rustling has not really affected our work and communities. In fact, crops are more exorbitant now. As a result, we get more money compared to what we had last year. There are hunters in this community who could protect us. That is why we have not experienced it (In-depth Interview with R17).

Another informant from a different socio-economic background, also lends credence to the above statement when he notes:

I personally owned up to 67 cattle and many goats. Let me tell you none of us is carried away by the way cattle rustlers spend money. We have never been poor since we can take care of ourselves. In this community, there has never been a case of cattle rustling. However, it has happened in some communities around us (In-depth Interview with R10).

Although there are a few among the informants that feel that cattle rustling has not negatively affected their sources of income, but majority are of the view that it has inflicted poverty on them as they could not continue with their usual businesses of farming and rearing of livestock on account of the activities of cattle rustlers in the areas. The figure below is a diagrammatic representation of how cattle rustling became a source of trauma and instilling fear in the victims

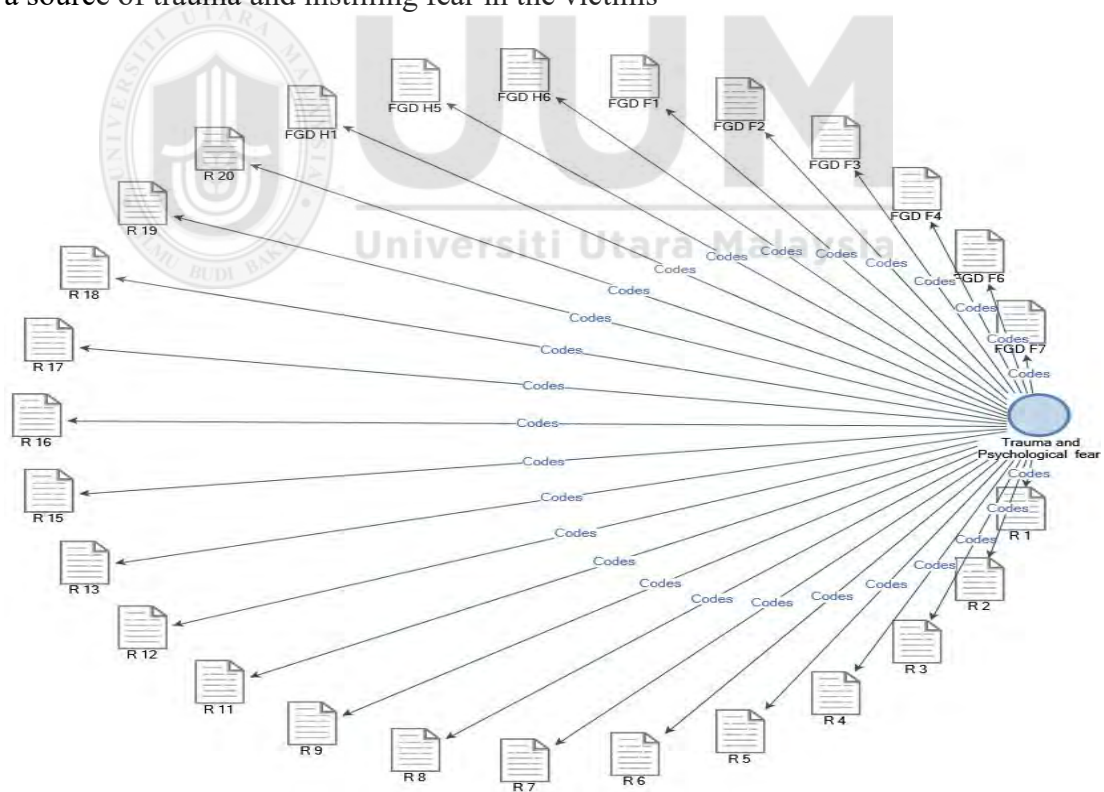


Figure 4.25: Trauma and Psychological Fear
Source: Field work, 2018

Figure 4.25 above shows the sub-theme and the interviewees who responded to our question on trauma, and psychological fear in the study area. The sub-theme has 27 informants who talked about the existence of trauma and psychological fear in the affected communities

4.7.8 Trauma and Psychological Fear

A considerable number of the informants spoke on trauma and psychological fear because of the pains and discomfort caused by cattle rustling to the people in the study area. One of them says; “They sometimes rape their wives. This has caused the victims trauma and left some stigma on the affected herdsmen” (FGD F2). Again, another informant says: “People hardly come for the weekly market because of fear of the cattle rustling and kidnapping” (FGD F3). “Activities of the cattle rustlers have affected us psychologically as, we are always afraid of them because they could come and kidnap or rape our wives at any time of the day”. (FGD F4). “We are not safe just as our children and wives cannot go anywhere because of the fear of cattle rustlers that used to kidnap and rape them” (FGD H1).

Furthermore, another informant also said, “Yes, cattle rustling has caused fear in us. Household heads, in most cases, sleep outside their comfort rooms to protect the livestock, this has a lot of psychological effects on us” (R9). A cattle rustler also confirmed that they do rape their female victims. He says, “There was a time I was very drunk before we went for the operation and my boys raped some women. I was quite upset because I hate raping female captives while on operation” (R18). “There is

no security here, many of us are victims, we are always afraid as we are not sure of what will happen tomorrow. We are always afraid because these people will come and inflict pains on us or rape our wives, some of the victims who had the bitter experience among us were traumatised” (FGD H5).

Cattle rustlers do rape in the study area and this has led to trauma and psychological pains among the populace. In one of the FGD conducted with the herdsmen, one of the informants says:

Cattle rustling, and kidnapping have inflicted fear in us. Many of the victims among us are left with trauma and are psychologically affected because of the rape and kidnapping matted on them. We cannot go anywhere as our cattle and children are far away from us. We feel their absence greatly. We are not enjoying them (FGD H5).

In support of the above, another informant says:

We are afraid. If your cattle are not stolen, you will be kidnapped, asked to pay some ransom or be killed. Last week I had a phone called that some of our herdsmen were kidnapped and asked to pay some ransom. We had to pay them. Unfortunately, they eventually raped the women among them (In-depth Interview with R5).

Apart from the trauma and psychological fear caused by the cattle rustler, there is also a stigma that come with those raped by the rustlers in the study area. For instance, one of the victims says:

They have killed my brother and left me with his two wives that were raped and his 13 children while I have my 6 children too. The two wives of my late brother now bear the stigma of rape that you can hardly get anyone that will marry them. I am in a serious trauma and psychologically affected. Sometimes, I feel like committing suicide (In-depth Interview with R7).

There is no security in the study area, as a result of which, both the herdsmen and farmers are psychologically affected and are always afraid of the cattle rustlers. For instance, one of the leaders of the herdsmen has noted as follows:

Some of us are traumatised because of cattle rustling. The farmer is psychologically affected, always scared and not feeling free to go to the farm. Those affected are upset and shocked because of the initial tragedy. Neither the farmers nor the herdsmen are safe around here (In-depth Interview with R4).

In corroborating the above statement, one of the village heads says:

Cattle rustling had affected both the herdsmen and the farmers in this community psychologically. We are emotionally carried away by the evils of these criminals. These are the group of people that will come and kill whosoever they feel like. None of us is safe, there is a fear among us (In-depth Interview with R2).

Furthermore, the cattle rustlers are also afraid of the security personnel and opposing groups that are also cattle rustlers. In an interview conducted with some of the rustlers differently, their arguments are as follows:

Yes, I am aware that farmers are afraid of farming because of us. For example, for more than three years some communities did not plant crops in places close to the forest where we stay. Yes, we informed them not to farm there because the place will be dark, and we want a clear place for fear of attack by security personnel our other opposing groups. We have other groups that we are not in good term with and we usually fight each other (In-depth Interview with R1 and R12).

From the above data presented it is agreed that rape and psychological fear constitute some of the effects of cattle rustling on the rural communities of Kaduna State, Nigeria. This is because females are always victims of rape and they are stigmatising for life when they fall victim of this type of crime. Below is the diagram showing how level

of social interactions and the feeling of mistrust are some of the effects of cattle rustling on the affected areas.

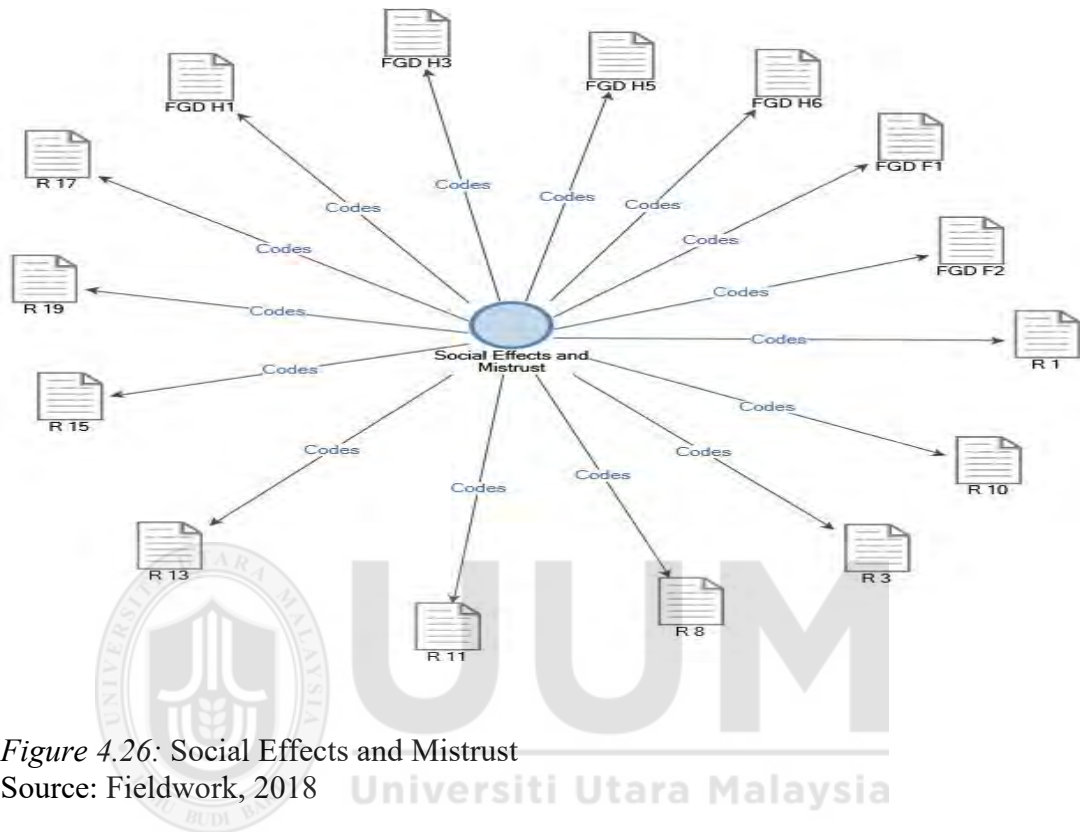


Figure 4.26: Social Effects and Mistrust
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

4.7.9 Social Effects and Mistrust

Breakdown of trust, food insecurity and poverty have been identified as some of the effects of cattle rustling and pastoralists/ farmers conflicts (Garba, Simon, & Abdullahi, 2015) wherever. This phenomenon has really affected the livelihood of the rural populace. Furthermore, the right to food and social interactions have also been affected by livestock rustling in Borabu sub-county, Kenya (Anyango *et al.*, 2017). Social interactions and trust have also been affected by cattle rustling in the study area. According to, one of the informants: “Our youths have become alcohol and drug

addicts because of the contact they have with the cattle rustlers. They can become informants, so you cannot trust them” (FGD H5). Furthermore, other respondent is of the view that: “Cattle rustling has forced some of the Fulani youths to become cattle rustlers and kidnapers” (R11). The phenomenon has negatively affected human relationships in the rural communities. For instance, an informant says, “It is a bad experience, some herdsmen youths whose cattle were rustled have decided to join the gang. We don’t relate on good terms with the herdsmen because most of them are now criminals” (FGD F1).

The quest for quick and easy money was led youth of youths in the rural communities into partaking in cattle rustling. This has, consequently led to a deteriorating level of trust between the herdsmen and farmers. The chairman of one of the local governments has this to say:

The local people see cattle rustling as a source of money. So, they got involved. The hostility between the groups increased because of the menace. The unfortunate thing is that no trust exists between herdsmen and the farmers any longer. The problem has affected on socialisation of youths (In-depth Interview with R19).

One of the cattle rustlers also supported the above submission as he explained how he joined his group as follows:

There was a time I went to the market to sell my goat and saw one Dauda spending money anyhow. I enquired to know the source of money. He said if I was interested, that I should follow him. That was how I became a cattle rustler (In-depth Interview with R1).

The rustling of cattle by a group has also led to some to rustle for them to restock their livestock. This has increased the mistrust among the rural populace. One of the Divisional Police Officers (DPOs) gave his experience with one of the suspects of cattle rustling:

Some of these herdsmen are into cattle rustling because their cattle were rustled. There was a time we arrested one and, his testimony was that he joined the group because his father's cattle were also stolen, and they became empty-handed. In fact, even the herdsmen never trust each other (In-depth Interview with R3).

The changing behaviour of herdsmen was also regarded as one cause of the distrust among the rural populace. One of the village heads has argued as follows:

The causes of the distrust among us are the changes in the behaviour of the of herdsmen. They are no longer trustworthy because of their involvement in cattle rustling and kidnapping. The problem is that they mostly kill the person they know. Then how can you trust this type of man (In-depth Interview with R17).

Herdsmen were criminalised by the society because of the activities of the cattle rustlers in the study area. One of the leaders of the cattle breeders' association, said:

Cattle rustling has led to the political criminalisation of herdsmen. Now in Nigeria, most reported cases of insecurity are often attributed to herdsmen. The society no longer trust headsmen because we are all labelled as criminals (In-depth Interview with R15).

A farmer has argued in line with the above position and added that they will never trust herdsmen any longer.

I do not think we will ever trust herdsmen again because they are all criminals. All cattle rustlers arrested in this local government area are Fulanis. These are people that we trusted and were regarded as

our brothers' keepers before now. Now they are kidnappers and armed robbers (In-depth Interview with R13).

In one of our focus group discussions with farmers, the researcher observed that most of the informants confessed to have labelled herdsmen as cattle rustlers. As such, they do not trust all the Fulanis living in their immediate environment. One of the informants says:

The herdsmen are cattle rustlers, they are no longer trustworthy. They mostly attack those they know most. The unfortunate thing is that government are not doing anything to salvage the situation (FGD F2).

The figure below is a diagrammatic representation of the preventive measure taken by government to stop cattle rustling in the affected communities.

4.8 Cattle Rustling Existing Preventive Approach in Kaduna State

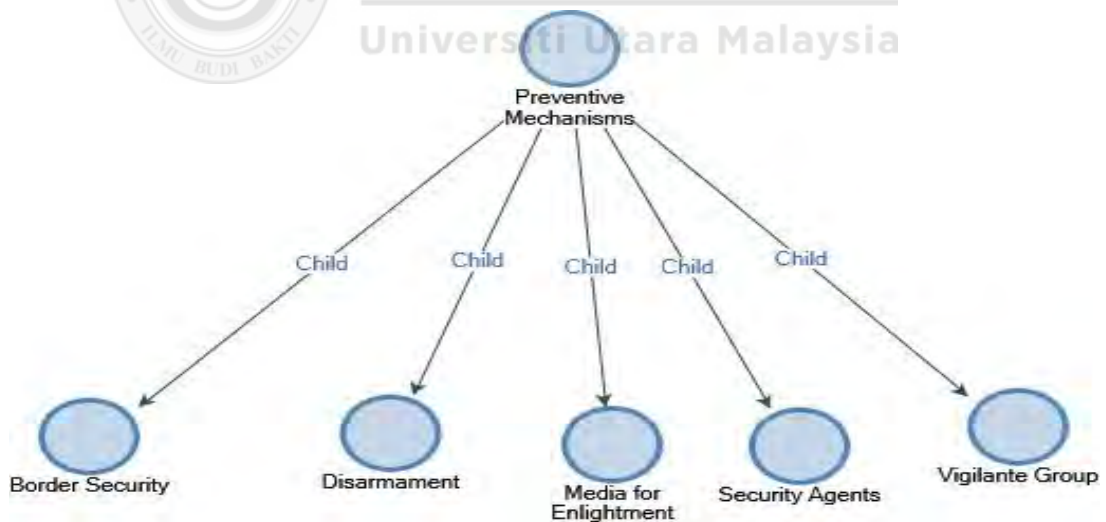


Figure 4.27; Existing Preventive Mechanism of Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State
Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

The Figure above shows the sub-theme on the measures taken by government to prevent cattle rustling in the affected area in Kaduna state Nigeria

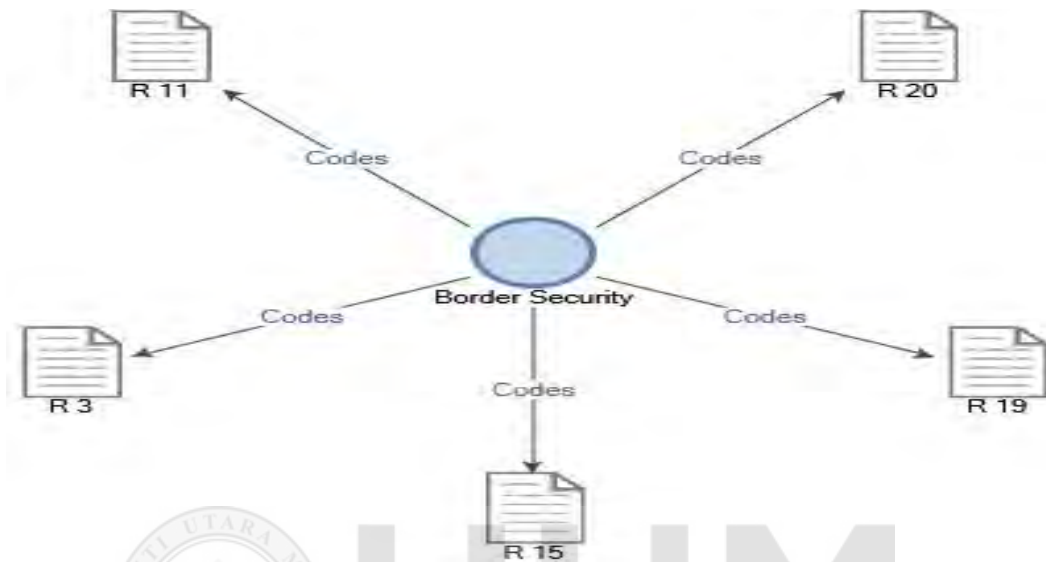


Figure 4.28: Border Security
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Figure 4.28 shows the sub-theme on border security. The sub-theme has five informants that talked on border security as part of the preventive measures taken by government to stop cattle rustling in Kaduna State.

4.8.1 Border Security

Numerous criminal activities are taking place along Nigeria's borders with other countries because of its porous nature. The common criminal activities mostly committed there are trafficking in arms and humans parts, smuggling of contraband goods, and free entry of illegal immigrants into the country, vehicle crime, drug trafficking, illicit trade in timber, oil and diamond including trafficking of illegally - exploited natural resources (Goddy, & Clement, 2017). Knowing very well that most

of the arms used by the cattle rustlers come from the neighbouring countries. The Kaduna State government used border surveillance as one of the measures to prevent cattle rustling. On this, one of the informants has this to say:

For the borders, we have asked the immigration service to beef up surveillance and ensure that no one comes in with illegal arms. We will further use cameras for surveillance in areas we found challenging. Furthermore, the Kaduna State governor has also acquired jets for surveillance as pilots are being trained for that job. I am happy to inform you that we have secured the end users certificate to start using them immediately. I can say it is effective because immigration officials have arrested several criminals with illicit arms trying to smuggle them into Nigeria (In-depth Interview with R11).

Another informant, a top functionary is also quoted to have said:

The influx of foreign herdsmen who are criminals has posed a serious security threat not only to Kaduna State but to Nigeria in general. The State government has always in her monthly security meetings advised us on how to curtail cattle rustling. My local government is sharing boundary with Katsina State. This made the flashpoint. So, we have instructed the police, civil defense, and vigilante to prevent the local government area from the activities of the cattle rustlers. Yes, since then, cattle rustling activities have reduced drastically in this local government area (In-depth Interview with R19).

Another informant says the “police were also implored to assist in arresting foreigners they see coming into the country with arms. We have severally made arrests and after some investigations, some were identified as cattle rustlers” (R3). “The state government have tried in stationing security personnel at its borders with Katsina and Zamfara states. This has improved the security level of the area” (R20). One of the leaders of the Kaduna State cattle breeders’ association states as follows: “keeping

watch on the border is a good measure taken by this administration. We the cattle owners in Nigeria are always used as scapegoats, when the foreign herdsmen come in and commit all types of crimes, Nigerians will continue to accuse us” (R15). This, therefore, shows that the state government has used border security patrol in preventing cattle rustling. This measure has to some extent been effective. However, the herdsmen who are the direct victims of cattle rustling are of the opinion that a lot more should be done in this regard. The figure below indicates that disarmament of the cattle rustlers was another measure taken by the government to stop cattle rustling in the state.

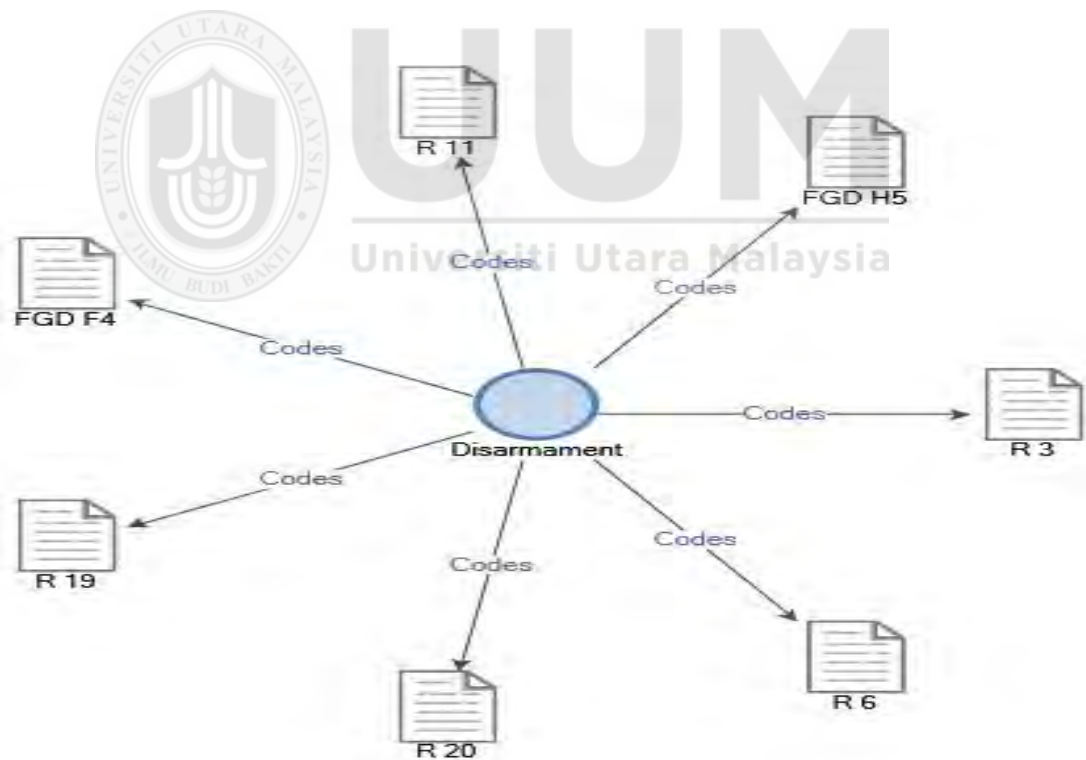


Figure 4.29: Disarmament
Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

Figure 4.29 above shows the sub-theme and the number of informants who answered the question on disarmament as one of the existing cattle rustling prevention measures taken by the in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

4.8.2 Disarmament

In 1968 the United Nations established a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty). The aim was to regulate the use of nuclear weapons by countries that have them and to prevent states that don't have such weapon of mass destruction from acquiring such to ensure global peace and security (Zanders, 2015). The escalation in rural banditry and interethnic conflicts among herdsmen in the Kenya and Uganda border were fueled by the increasing number of small and light arms in circulation (Mkutu, 2007). Illegal possession of arms has undermined Nigerian efforts by the government to ensure internal security thereby increasing the level of violent crime across the country (Uchenna, 2015). As a result, a disarmament committee was constituted by the Kaduna State government to prevent violent crimes like cattle rustling, armed robbery and other forms in the state conflict. For instance, the police officers interviewed on this matter have this to say: "police were made part of the committee for disarmament. Some have voluntarily returned their arms to us, but others keep theirs maybe for the fear of arrest. This initiation by the State governor is good but it is not really effective because of our nature" (R3 and R6). Another informant says: "The disarmament approach was a very difficult task as people were not sincere and again find it difficult to trust government because of the

bad experiences they had with the previous government. In fact, I can't say it was successful because those that surrender their arms may be at risk" (R19).

Another informant, who was part of the committee formed to prevent cattle rustling in the study area, argues as follows:

The governor has also formed a committee called Disarmament Committee. I am among the members of the committee. We go to houses asking them to surrender their arms and promising to pay them in due course. We have recovered a very good number of dangerous arms from the rural populace. This has reduced cattle rustling in the State, although there are still pockets of the menace in some places (In-depth Interview with R11).

A peace accord was also signed between the government and the cattle rustlers, and this has led some of the rustlers to repent from the activities of cattle rustling. One of the informants notes that

There was a peace initiative. Someone with courage was sent to the bush to convince them to drop their arms with the assurance of compensation from the governor. Some of the criminals obliged and accepted with the initiative and a peace accord was signed. In the process, some of the rustlers repented. So far, this method has not been effective, because some of the criminals went back to the forest, when the state government failed to fulfil their promises (FGD F4 and FGD H5).

Disarmament was also used as one of the means of preventing cattle rustling in the study area and many illegal arms were recovered. Findings from the research indicate that some of the cattle rustlers had repented from the activity and joined law-abiding citizens. However, there were those that went back to the forest because the state government did not fulfill the promises made to them. Below, is a figure that indicates

that the state government also used media enlightenment as one of the steps to curtail cattle rustling in Kaduna State.

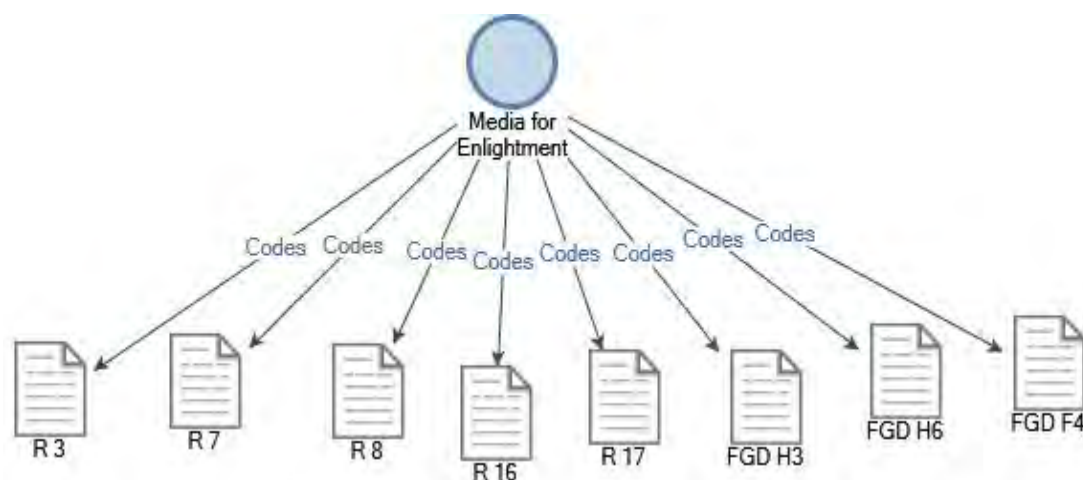


Figure 4.30: Media Enlightenment
Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Figure 4.30 above shows the responses of participants on the use of the media for enlightenment as one of the cattle rustling preventive means used in Kaduna State, Nigeria.

4.8.3 Uses of the Media for Enlightenment

The media has a significant role to play in the transmission of good culture that will change attitudes relating to crime and further enlighten members of the society on the preventive measures adopted by the power that be to curtail incidents of cattle rustling (Zallaghi 2016). These are mostly done through religious preaching, dramas, and provision of information or tips. Findings of this research show that the state government has used the media in its efforts to prevent cattle rustling in the study area. For instance, an informant in one of the focus group discussions with the herdsmen

says: “A programme on Radio Nigeria, Kaduna was also used as a medium to reconcile with the cattle rustlers during the disarmament move. But the cattle rustlers have continued with their evil business. This clearly shows that enlightenment through the radio cannot stop them” (FGD H6).

The Kaduna state government set up a special military task force titled *Operation Yaki* to tackle all forms of violent conflicts including cattle rustling in the state. Phone numbers of members of the task force were publicized on the media as another means of preventing cattle rustling in the area. A respondent noted his experience when he alerted members of the task force on an impending attack by the rustlers:

Radio Nigeria Kaduna has a programme dedicated to enlightening us on the dangers of the cattle rustlers. Through the programme phone numbers of the police and military were given to us to call them at any time. Yes, we do call them whenever we were suspicious of some faces around our community. The police sometimes do come to our aid. In most cases they complained of lack of vehicle and arms to face cattle rustlers (FGD F4).

In a support of the role of the media in the prevention of the cattle rustling in the study area, another informant says:

We got to know about Operation Yaki through the radio. The same radio programme also featured and how they operate when they are rustling our cattle. The cattle recovered were always known through radio for the victims to go and claim them. To some extent, I will say it is effective, but the use of the vigilante groups and the police will be more effective (FGD H3).

Programme in the media have also given the rural populace the courage to stop and search people moving with cattle around their communities. A member of one of the vigilante groups says:

Radio was also used to enlighten the herdsmen on how to understand and report suspected cattle rustlers around their areas. Through the programme, we understood that we had the right to stop anyone we saw with cattle and ask him where he got the cattle from. I will say this is not enough to tackle the menace (In-depth Interview with R16).

Despite the commendable roles played by media so far, effort made prevent of cattle rustling through it was not effective enough. For instance, one of the informants says; “People are being informed on the activities of cattle rustlers through the radio, but this has not changed anything. We the vigilantes are the ones preventing them from coming here” (R8). One of the police officers interviewed could not also ascertain the effectiveness of the use of the media in the prevention of the crime. He says: “The committee is using the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), Kaduna to discourage the cattle rustlers and keep the herdsmen on the alert. I cannot comment on its effectiveness because I am a policeman” (R3).

In support of the above submission, another informant says:

I do hear on the radio that a committee called Operation Yaki headed by Yakubu Soja, is working. But I regarded what he is doing as informing the cattle rustlers all that the government is planning against them. This can never be effective. How will you be airing strategies of dealing with criminals in public and make me believe you can arrest them. I think use of the vigilante groups and community policing will be more effective (In-depth Interview with R7).

Simply put, the use of the media, particularly to enlighten people on how to tackle the danger of cattle rustling has not been very effective. The diagram below epitomizes the role of the security operatives in curbing cattle rustling in the state.

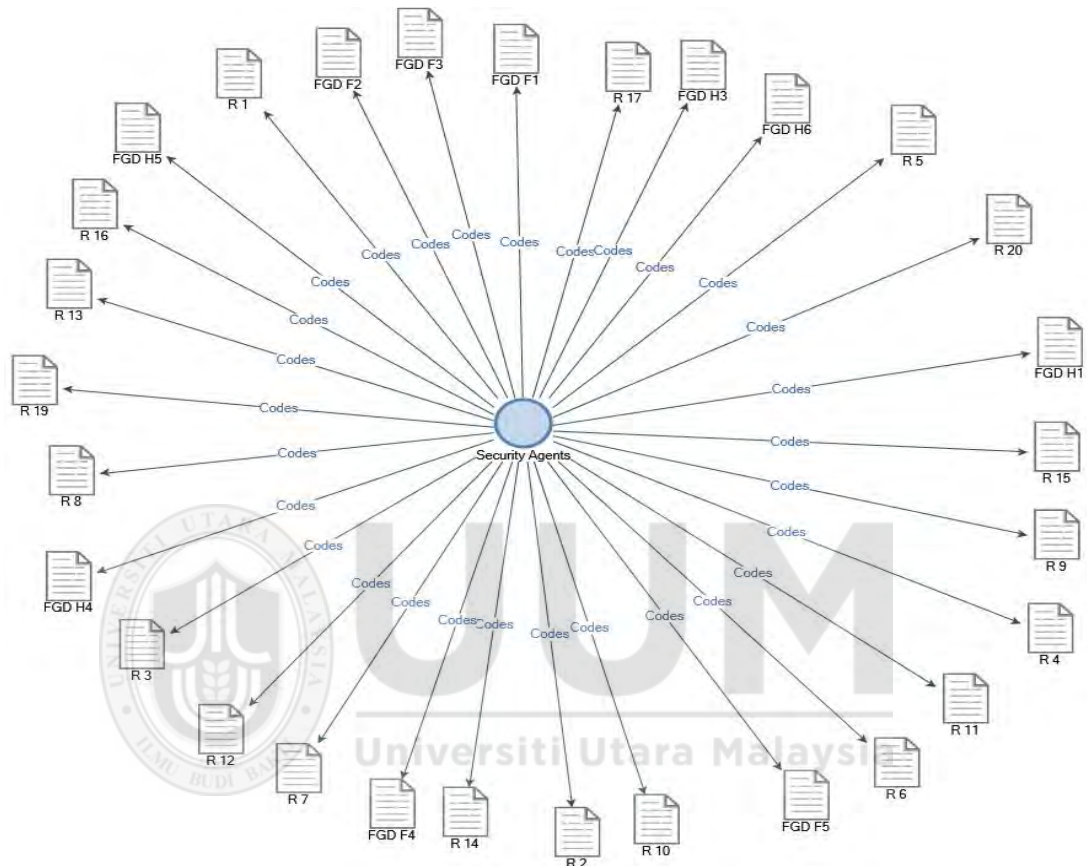


Figure 4.31: Sub-Theme: Security Agents
Source: Fieldwork 2018.

4.8.4 Security Agents

Security agents have always been used to curb cattle rustling in Africa. For instance, Murkomen (2015) has observed that the police were deployed in many parts of Kenya to prevent cattle rustling by concentrating on stopping the illegal trade of cattle and small weapons. In Nigeria, Kaduna State to be specific, most of the informants agreed that a combination of the police, the civil defense and military are the security agents

used to prevent cattle rustling in the study area. The police, the civil defense, and the military are the best security outfits that can properly prevent cattle rustling. An informant in one of the FGDs conducted with the herdsmen has this to say: “Yes, Operation *Yaki* members are living up to our expectations. We all have their phone numbers. As soon as we hear that the cattle rustlers are coming, we usually call them to come to our rescue” (FGD H1). “The state government organised the military and other security agents and they were able to recover over three thousand cows from the cattle rustlers and that was the first time such an achievement was made in Nigeria” (R14). This position is also corroborated by another informant who says: “Many cattle rustlers were arrested, and the cattle collected were returned to the owners by the police and other security agents. They are very effective and can prevent cattle rustling” (FGD F5).

Another informant scored the use of the security outfits like the police and the civil defense in the prevention of cattle rustling as the best. The informant has this to say:

A joint operation comprising the army, air force, police, civil defense etc. were formed. In fact, because of that operation in Birnin Gwari zone alone, we have collected back more than 120 thousand cattle to the rightful owners. Furthermore, areas regarded as a “no go zone” by people are now relatively freer for the people to move around. We have achieved a lot. If it is not up to 75%, it should not be less than 60% (In-depth Interview with R11).

Efforts of the police and other sister agencies have been quite effective, but they need a lot of political will and legislation on the movement of cattle by the government to do better. An informant, a security personnel has argued as follows:

The creation of the anti-cattle rustling unit, as a military outfit in 2011 with the aim of preventing cattle rustling has reduced the menace. It is effective, but it is still affected by the nature of the handling of cattle in general. There should be law guiding the movement, sale and any other thing that has to do with the cattle. Again, herdsmen should be registered, and their movements should be maintained, or even be restricted (In-depth Interview with R3).

Another police officer interviewed by us appreciated the efforts of the state government in the prevention of cattle rustling in the State. He argued that members of the various affected communities should be part of the security of their areas.

The state government donated all of these police vehicles for patrol, and they are fully maintained. There is no dedicated squad for the prevention of the act. The police are involved in the protection of cattle rustling. Security is a collective issue and we call on the rural populace to assist us (In-depth Interview with R6).

Police and other security outfits are effective, but unfortunately, they cannot be present everywhere in many rural communities in Kaduna State. The informant adds that: “The use of the police and other security agents is effective. However, some communities never experience them” (FGD H6). Again, another informant also argued that: “We heard that operation yaki is preventing cattle rustling. But they have not yet reached our village. I cannot say it is effective or not because we have not yet benefitted from their services” (R2).

The combination of the police and members of the civil defense that constitute Operation Yaki has been tasked with the responsibility of

preventing the menace. Unfortunately, they are not [many] enough to cover all the affected communities. Even when they are on ground, some of them are corrupt just as they lack the arms to face the criminals (FGD F1).

Because the security agents are not many enough to cover the troubled spots, some people in the study area cannot appreciate the role they play in the prevention of the cattle rustling. For instance, this informant has this to say:

The security agents are not effective because some of them have just been posted to the rural communities where they cannot differentiate between the criminals and us. In most cases they arrest innocent people. Again, most of them are corrupt, just as they don't have good arms to face the criminals. I think they should collaborate with the traditional leaders and the vigilante group members if they want to be effective (In-depth Interview with R7).

Lack of the required operational equipment and proper supervision of the activities of the police has affected their activeness in the prevention of cattle rustling. For example, one of the informants has argued that “The police are not serious at all When you call them, they will complain of lack of fuel in their vehicle. To have effective cattle rustling prevention, there is the need for community policing” (FGD H4). “The police whose responsibility is to protect us and our properties, are not doing anything good. In fact, we are suspecting them as aiding cattle rustling” (FGD H5). Another informant argued in the same vein: When he says:

The government is doing her best in using the Nigeria police to prevent cattle rustling; although some of the police personnel are aiding the act. The state government should join the community leaders to make this prevention efforts more effective (FGD F2).

The police do not go to the rural communities until they are called. Sometimes, they find it difficult to respond to the call because they don't have good arms to face the cattle rustlers. "The police will wait until you call them. The irony is that we don't even have strong telephone network here. Let me tell you, the government and the police will never take us from rural communities seriously" (FGD F3). Another informant says:

The police only wait until they are called and before they come the criminals must have gone. In fact, even with the invitations of the police, they will respond that they will not make it to the scene of the attack because the attackers are better armed. They are doing their best, but they should be adequately armed by the government to defeat the criminals (In-depth Interview with R4).

Talking from a contrary position, another informant believed that the police do respond to their calls just as they have been effective in carrying out their duties. He notes as follows:

There is an improvement now as the security agents do respond to our calls. We have a cordial relationship with the divisional police officer here. Whenever we notice any strange face, we report to him and they swing into action. All we need to do is call the phone number of the Division Police Officer at whatever period of the day and they usually respond (In-depth Interview with R5).

One of the cattle rustlers also agreed that the state government has been using the police and other security effective against them. He submits as follows:

We know the police and the army have been hunting for us, but we always try to avoid them. I was not arrested at the point of operation. Rather, it was someone whose cattle we who knows me to be part of the gang that reported me to the security operatives. I think he was an informer to the police (In-depth Interview with R1).

The above submissions show that the security did their best to curtail cattle rustling even with their limited number of personnel and equipment. Above all, they are corrupt and lack the political will to prevent the crime. The figure below highlights the effectiveness of vigilante groups in curbing the nefarious activities of cattle rustlers in the affected communities.

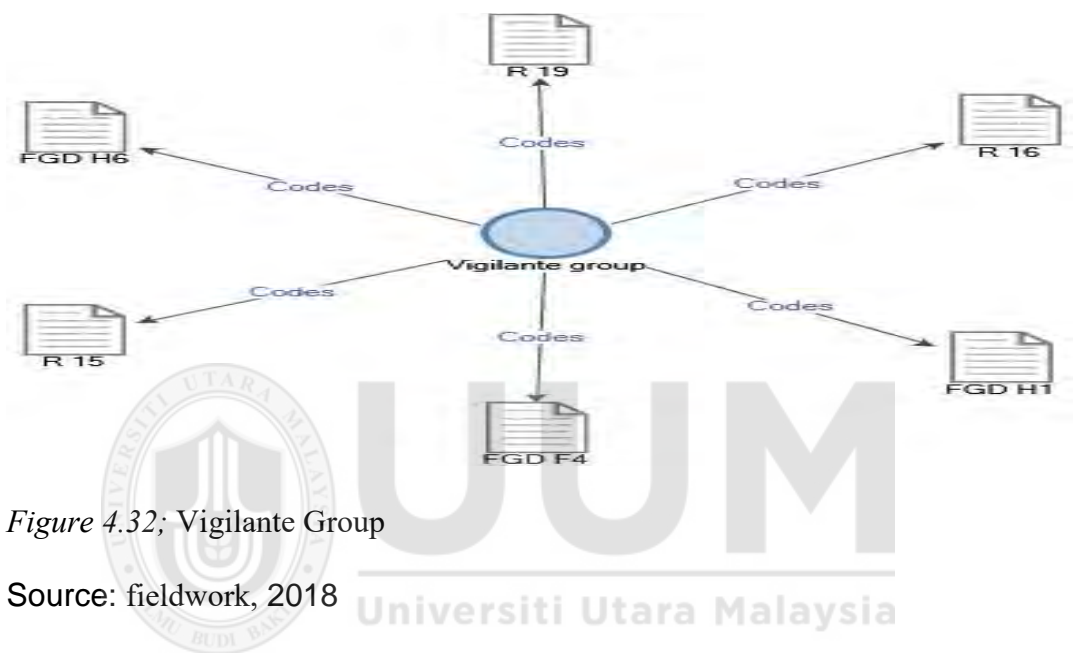


Figure 4.32; Vigilante Group

Source: fieldwork, 2018

4.8.5 Vigilante Groups

In Nigeria, the inability of the police and other security outfits to adequately prevent crime necessitated the formation of voluntary vigilante groups to perform informal policing across most of the states in the north. The vigilante groups were mostly formed by ethnic groups or religious organisations (Uche & Perpetua, 2016). Vigilante groups are also formed across the study area to prevent crimes like cattle rustling, kidnapping, destruction of crops etc. For instance, one of the members of the vigilante group has this to say: “Yes, we voluntarily formed the group to prevent all vices. Government does help us with motorcycles and money to buy torchlight and battery.

These people have arms and we are not allowed by the constitution to take arms. That is why we are not performing effectively” (R16). Another informant argued that “The vigilante group is also parts of the state government’s arrangement for preventing the cattle rustling. But the group cannot be effective because government does not permit the group to bear arms. All they can do is to confidentially report suspects to the police” (R 15).

The vigilante groups have been found to be effective in the prevention of crime in some of the rural communities of Kaduna State:

The state created the vigilante groups. They were inaugurated after dissolving the initial ones. They were selected and screened by the village heads of their origin. They are not paid much but are found to be very effective. The state government is planning to expand their scope of operation. This time around, local government officials, the police, village heads will collectively screen them (In-depth Interview with R19).

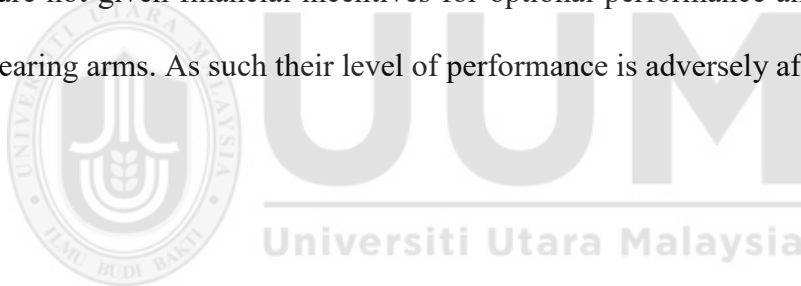
Another informant explained the factors that negatively affect the performance of the vigilante groups in their areas of operation:

Members of the Vigilante groups have been doing their best, but they are not allowed to bear arms and discipline the rustlers when they are arrested. The vigilantes are afraid of members of the cattle rustlers because they can be released within 24 hours and the life of those who arrested them will be in danger. This has weakened the activities of the groups. They ought to have been very effective because they know people of the immediate rural communities. As such, they can easily identify strange faces of those who are criminals (FGD F6).

Some of the herdsmen that interacted with us have a different view on the performance of the vigilante groups. They argued as follows:

Vigilante groups were not formed to prevent cattle rustling but rather to protect the interest of the farmers. We have never seen them making efforts to prevent cattle rustling, they are always interested in arresting herdsmen that destroy their crops. The groups are not effective because they have no arms to face the cattle head rustlers (FGD H1 and H6).

From the findings so far, that vigilante groups were used to prevent cattle rustling in some rural communities of Kaduna State. However, the rural populace lamented lack of government commitment to curtail the problem. Particularly when, members of the group are not given financial incentives for optional performance and are prevented from bearing arms. As such their level of performance is adversely affected.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, the analyses addressed questions one, two, three, and four from the data collected through the interviews, observation and secondary methods of data gathering. This chapter, therefore, discuss the findings of the study to make sense of the analysed data and have a good understanding of the phenomenon. Furthermore, the bulk of the data analysed were authenticated using secondary data. Four research questions were raised to achieve the set objectives at the beginning of the research, the research questions are:

1. What is the nature of social coexistences in the rural communities of Kaduna State?
2. What is the nature of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State?
3. How does cattle rustling affect the well-being of the people in rural communities of the study area?
4. What are the existing cattle rustling preventive approaches in Kaduna State?

5.2 The Nature of Social Coexistences in the Rural Communities

5.2.1 Social Harmony

Findings from the interviews conducted show that there was social harmony in the rural communities of Kaduna State before and during colonial administration in Nigeria (i.e. before Nigeria's independence of the 1960). The findings also reveal that during that period, there was trust among the rural populace. Moreover, all social activities like marriage, naming ceremonies, security of the communities, businesses, road renovations, and construction etc., were collectively done without any suspicious.

The above findings corroborate a study conducted in Gombe State, Nigeria which discovered that farmers and herdsmen were, hitherto, living in harmony with one another where the farmers sell their farm residues for livestock feeds in exchange for milk, meat, and animal dung (Ibrahim, Zainab, Mustapha, & Dahiru, 2014; Muhammed, Ismaila, & Bibi, 2015). Another research finding also indicated that there have been strong social ties between the herdsmen and the farmers in the country. For that reason, herdsmen admittedly enjoyed access to water, grazing land, and communal security. The interactions between the two groups were like one family (Ezeonwuka, and Igwe, 2016).

It was also found that the social harmony hitherto enjoyed by the herdsmen and farmers was because of the efforts of the community leaders and non-interference in the economic activities of one another.

The above finding was also confirmed by the work of Kingsley (2010) that discovered traditional institutions in the African societies to be firm and highly respected before the colonial masters conquered and relegated the good values they were enjoying to the background. The desire for the leadership then was to restore the social structure of the society to its state of equilibrium (Kingsley, 2010). Thus, members of the rural communities were law-abiding citizens and live in harmony.

5.2.2 The Nature of Social Conflict

Based on the analysis, it was discovered that most of the communities have in one way or the other experienced herdsmen and farmers conflicts. However, the conflict was found to be mostly between the local farmers and nomadic herdsmen from the neighbouring countries. The current nature of living in the rural communities of Kaduna State is characterized by conflict between the framers and the herdsmen. Such conflicts are caused by blockage of the existing cattle routes by the farmers, destruction of crops by the herdsmen, drought, commercialisation of agriculture, etc.

While farmers regarded the destruction of crops as the major cause of the conflict in Nigeria, the most recurrent cause of the conflicts between the nomadic pastoralists and the sedentary farmers is illegal invasion of farms and destruction of crops by cattle, particularly during the planting season and immediately after the harvesting period (Musa, Shabu, & Igbawua, 2014). Again, another research conducted shows blockage of cattle routes, water points, and commercialisation of agriculture as some of the remote causes of the conflict (Ikezue & Ezeah, 2017). The herdsmen and farmers

conflict have affected the lives and properties of the rural populace where sometimes a whole community is set ablaze, leading to food insecurity (Ajibefun, 2018). On the whole, competition for scarce resources, particularly, agricultural land, poverty, the deteriorating nature of soil, and easy access to arms, particularly the AK 47, are the major causes of the conflict between herdsmen and farmers in the rural communities (Ajibefun, 2018).

The above findings are corroborated by the Eco-Violence theory of Homer-Dixon, (1994) which gives the causal explanations and the nature of conflicts in the rural communities of developing countries as an environmental resource scarcity caused by population growth, pollution, commercialisation of agriculture, and noticeably climate change or drought. The above concepts lead to competition and unequal distribution of scarce resources, and subsequently conflict between the rural populace.

Findings from the research also indicate that the conflict between herdsmen and farmers has led to suspicion, loss of lives, destruction of properties and cattle rustling among the rural populace. The above findings is in agreement with a research conducted by Umeh & Chukwu,(2013) which summarized the effects of the herdsmen and farmers conflict as the feeling of insecurity, loss of lives and properties. They also reaffirmed the conflict has altered the pattern of social relationships in the rural communities and there is a considerable mutual distrust among the various parties to the disputes.

5.3 Nature of Cattle Rustling in Kaduna State

5.3.1 Cattle Rustling and Kidnapping

The study found that cattle rustling, and kidnapping were perpetrated by members of the same group on an alarming rate in the study area. However, the gravity of occurrence differs. For instance, Birnin-Gwari has suffered most from the activities of the cattle rustlers than Chikun, Giwa and other local government areas of the State.

The study also found that there is a mutation from the cattle rustling to Kidnapping which is informed by the ease in the operation and the economic benefits that accrue to the perpetrators. The kidnappers who are also cattle rustlers demand for millions as ransom before freeing a victim.

It was also discovered that the trend of cattle rustling in the study area has changed from small to large scale. Some of the informants believed that rustlers now forcefully collect stock in hundreds or thousands from the cattle owners who are mostly herdsmen.

The view above is corroborated by Kaimba *et al.*, (2011) who said that commercialized cattle raiding in which politicians, wealthy businessmen, and local people pursue economic objectives has changed the traditional mode of raid which was usually small for restocking to massive rustling. To Ahmed (2018), cattle rustling in Nigeria and parts of Africa has become a frequent, and lucrative business for the perpetrators.

5.3.2 Cattle Rustling as an Organised Crime

Cattle rustling has been discovered to be an organised rural crime that involves herdsmen, traditional leaders, security personnel, transporters, suppliers of arms and businessmen that buy the cattle. It is an act of criminality carried out with the intention of getting illegal money from the cattle owners. Again, the cattle rustlers operate in a group of able-bodied youths range from 20 to 50 members at a time. The group members in most cases do not know each other prior to carrying out the heinous act. It was also discovered that they are always very loyal to the leader.

The above findings are also in line with the work of Bunei, McElwee, & Smith, (2016) which discover livestock raids to be a network that involved businessmen, local community members and security personnel with all of them benefiting from livestock rustling. Furthermore, scholars that wrote on cattle rustling have widely acknowledged it to be an organised crime. This position aligned with the above findings as over the years, cattle rustling has advanced into a form of organised crime with enormous criminal sophistication and effectiveness. The current cattle rustlers operate with modern arms and their operations are marked by trans-national and trans-locational syndicates (Okoli & Okpaleke, 2014; Alemika *et al.*, 2013). The menace has been described as a criminal enterprise involving apparent social network and syndication (Ekblom, 2003). The above findings is interpreted by the Queer ladder theory as organised crime. The thoery sees the crime as a means to accumulate illegal wealth and build power. It is an instrumental behaviour, a means to an end.

The former ruling party (Peoples Democratic Party) led government was found to be sponsors of cattle rustling to enable the party win the 2015 general elections in the northern parts of Nigeria.

Corroborating the above findings, Greiner (2013), has discovered that cattle rustling has been used in Kenya as a political tool to force and create voting blocs for the criminals to defend the interest of the ruling class, even if it will resort to violent confrontations. Furthermore, raiding was also found to be instigated by external factors. There had been instances of cattle rustling sponsored by agents of government who rustle as proxies to punish any rural population supported an insurgency. Such has been funded by livestock businessmen as in the Sudanese Civil war (Mawso, 1991). This is also in line with the assumption of queer ladder theory which states that organised crime is means to accumulate wealth and build power.

5.3.3 Period or Time of Operation

Findings from the research show that cattle rustling take place at any time of the day in Kaduna State. However, most of the informants agreed that the cattle rustlers mostly operate in the night, a period that is safer and protects them from being arrested. A research conducted in Pokot and Marakwet of Kenya found that cattle rustling in Pokot takes place at any time of the day. In Marakwet, cattle rustling mostly took place during the rainy season and in the night (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). To further emphasis on this finding, in the north-west region of Cameroun, livestock theft was found to be

purely a night affair (Manu *et al.*, 2014). This, therefore, shows that cattle rustling is mostly done in the night.

5.3.4 Predominantly Herdsmen

Findings show that cattle rustling is dominated by herdsmen who are Nigerians. However, because of the porous nature of the Nigerian border, some of the cattle rustlers do come from the neighbouring countries like Niger, Cameroun, and Chad Republic. This is so because it is the herdsmen who, traditionally, understand and could control or manipulates the cattle. However, fewer other cattle rustlers have been found to have come from other trade backgrounds.

The discoveries in the preceding paragraph agreed with that of Kaimba *et al.* (2011) which states that, conservatively, cattle rustling is a nomadic pastoralists affair as is, it takes a herdsman to successfully control and move away stolen cattle. Therefore, it only takes herdsmen to successfully navigate the forest and go away with the livestock un arrested.

5.3.5 Rape as a Nature of Cattle Rustling

Findings from the study show that cattle rustling in the affected areas was characterized by rape. The cattle rustlers do rape daughters and wives of the victims during their operation in the study area. The above finding is corroborated by Egwu (2016) who notes that cattle rustling and rural banditry was often accompanied by

kidnapping, rape, organised attacks, and looting of available properties of the rural populace. This shows that rape is a feature of cattle rustling.

5.3.6 Violent Nature of Cattle Rustling

Findings show that cattle rustling in the study area is violent because the rustlers often use offensive rifles like AK 47, AK 49, cutlasses, knives, and force during their operations. The rustlers get arms from conflict-prone countries like Libya, Sudan, Mali, and Chad Republic through illegal arms dealers. It was also discovered that the rustlers beat up, injure, kill their victims, and, sometimes, set houses ablaze.

The activities of cattle rustlers have turned violent in the 1970s because of the possession of automatic rifles by the perpetrators in the Uganda and Kenya border (Anyango *et al.*, 2017). Cattle rustling involves brutal and reckless murder, criminal marketing chains, ethnic cleansing, and highway banditry (Greiner, Alvarez, & Becker, 2013). The violence which characterizes livestock raiding has assumed an unconceivable dimension with rape, murder, human displacement, the setting ablaze of the entire rural communities, among other horrors that take place in the in the process (Manyok, 2017). Furthermore, cattle rustling in Karimojong, Uganda was also found to be characterize by the use of automatic weapons like AK 47 on the innocent herdsmen (Gray, 2000).

5.4 Effects of Cattle Rustling on the Well-Being of Rural Communities

5.4.1 Effects of Cattle Rustling on Economy

Findings from the study show that cattle rustling has affected all the aspects of the economy in the rural communities of Kaduna State. Farmers have not been cultivating crops for some years and herdsmen cannot keep livestock because of the cattle rustling. Furthermore, it was also found that the rural populace has changed their occupation from farming and animal husbandry to illegal mining, motorcycling, and taking menial jobs in the cities. The abandonment of their original real economic activities like agriculture and animal husbandry has led to food insecurity in most of the rural communities. Furthermore, weekly markets for grains and livestock have all disappeared, just as branches of some banks in places like Birnin Gwari and Giwa were forced to close.

Findings, have that further cattle rustling has impoverished both the herdsmen and the farmers in the study area. The poverty level has affected the lifestyle of the people. In addition, it has increased the level of some dependency of some people on others just as children are made orphans. The killing of breadwinners and rustling of livestock has left behind poverty among the widows and orphans in the rural communities of Samburu, Turkana, and Pokot. This made to the pastoralists societies to depend on food aid because of poverty (Cheserek et al., 2012). Furthermore, in rural southern Swaziland, Simelane (2005) has found that the livestock raids led to serious poverty in the economy as, families could neither feed themselves no pay their children's

school fees on account of losing their source of livelihood to cattle rustling. In Kenya, the economics of pastoral communities have been disrupted, businesses closed, and farming and cattle rearing severely crippled because of cattle rustling (Schilling *et al.*, 2012).

5.4.2 Effects of Cattle Rustling on Education

Findings from the study show that governments both at the local and state levels had spent a lot of the tax payer's money on the construction of schools in the study area, however, the cattle rustling has negatively affected both teaching and learning in schools in the affected areas. School attendance in such places has dropped, teachers and students in such schools were no longer as punctual, the syllabuses of the schools was not always covered. Primary schools are more affected than the secondary schools in the study area.

The above findings agreed with Fleisher (2000) who observed that the high occurrence of cattle rustling especially in northern Uganda, was behind the poor quality of education as some parents could not afford to buy the required school materials for their children. Furthermore, studies by scholars also discovered that cattle rustlers had severally threatened to kill teachers if they dared to attend classes. The problem has destabilised schooling activities by burning schools and constant displacement of the rural populace, closure of schools, thus leading to poor school attendance which affects academic performance (Cheruiyot, Kurgat, Moturi, & Kosgey, 2014; Abubakari, Yakubu, & Longi, 2014; Kyari, & Alimba, 2016). Again, another research conducted

on cattle rustling in the Seven local governments of Katsina State shows that cattle rustling has led to high level of illiteracy, hunger, poverty, deaths, and migration among the affected communities (Abdullahi *et al.*, 2017).

5.4.3 Effects of Cattle Rustling on Healthcare Delivery

Findings show that staff of the healthcare facilities in the affected rural communities did not go for work because of the activities of the cattle rustlers. As a result, people in the affected place had to travel for long distances for drugs and treatment for their ailments. Such individuals would have suffered unduly in the course of such movement or even cost their life before they would access good quality medical attention.

Cattle rustling has been linked to decline in the provision of essential social services like health care delivery and education. Primary health care and schools in the affected rural communities were abandoned as the staff were scared of their job by cattle rustling. This has led to increase in cases of hypertension, high blood pressure, and mental disorders in the affected rural communities (Ojiya, Ajie & Mamman, 2017).

5.4.4 Kidnapping

Findings from the research show that rustlers do kidnap their victims in the process especially of carrying out their nefarious activities when especially they could not get many cattle to take away. They always threaten to kill victims they kidnapped if the stated ransom is not given in good time. Furthermore, the study also discovered that

many female victims, in one of the local government areas were in the captivity of the cattle rustlers during our data collection on the field. This view was shared by Momale (2016) who discovered that in some rural communities of the northern parts of Nigeria, cattle rustling has been linked with the kidnap and raping of young girls, and destruction of victims' properties (Egwu, 2016).

5.4.5 Cattle Rustling and The Killings

Findings show that the cattle rustlers do indiscriminately kill some of their victims during their operations. Furthermore, it was also discovered that the cattle rustlers operate under the influence of hard drugs. In addition, findings show that the killings take place on account of: (a) the victims knowing would later, expose the identity of the attacker(s); (b) when the victim is armed; or (c) when the victim(s) attempt to escape from captivity.

Corroborating the above findings, Momale, (2016) said that cattle rustling was found to be very alarming, as it is associated with frustrations and abuse of fundamental human rights. Women and do children suffer abductions, sexual abuse, and killings while the rustlers visit any community. It was further discovered that family heads and young men were repeatedly killed by rustlers in parts of northern Nigeria during cattle rustling. Furthermore, cattle rustling has led to the killings and displacement of thousands of people in rural communities every year in southern Sudan. In 2009, the rustlers killed more than 2,600 and 350,000 people were displaced (Ensor, 2013). Another research conducted on the influence of livestock raids on the Marsabit and

Samburu counties, Kenya also corroborated the findings that rustlers always start rustling by killing herdsmen they found with firearms (Khisia, Were, & Amutabi, 2016).

5.4.6 Cattle Rustling and Migration

Cattle rustling has caused massive rural-urban migration in the study area. The movements were from the study area to the southern part of the country and to some safer local government areas in Kaduna State. Furthermore, most of the migrants are able-bodied youths who constituted the productive population in the rural communities. Lack of children support, and food insecurity has been identified as the major effects of migration on the well-being of the inhabitant of the study area.

Migration of victims from the rural communities of Marakwet and Baringo of eastern Kenya to urban areas has made the rural populace change their livelihood styles, affected farming, and the education of their children. This, situation leads to food security and high level of illiteracy in the affected area (Cheserek *et al.*, 2012). The findings above have also corroborated a research conducted by Momale (2016) in some states of the northern Nigeria which confirmed that there was out migration of Fulani herdsmen from the rural communities prone to cattle rustling. The migration was from the northern part of Nigeria to the southern part. In the course of their movements the migrants hire trucks to transport the cattle for fear of rustlers who usually and confiscate livestock as they trek from one location to the other.

5.4.7 Trauma and Psychological Fear

Findings show that cattle rustlers do rape and commit other forms of abuses during their attacks on communities and these led to trauma and psychological fear among the rural populace. Because of the fear caused by the cattle rustlers, people rarely go to the weekly markets and cultivate their farm lands in the rural communities under study. Furthermore, children and women cannot move around for fear of rape, and kidnapping. Rape victims were also found to be stigmatized.

Researches conducted by other scholars have discovered that victims of cattle rustling were traumatized because of the impact of the activities of the rustlers. The trauma was found to be higher among farmers compared to traders and herdsmen. Moreover such has drastically affected their occupational status (Gidado, 2018). Such atmosphere has also led to psychological fear among the rural populace, especially the children and women who constitute most of the victims (Kynoch & Ulicki, 2000).

5.4.8 Social Effects and Mistrust

Findings from the study reveal that cattle rustling has led to the planting of mistrust among the rural populace as, the herdsmen are labelled as cattle rustlers and are not trusted in the study area. The research also revealed that the socialisation of youths was affected because some of the youths have, unfortunately joined the business of cattle rustling.

The victims cannot sleep, as some fled their homes and relationships between villages are also negatively affected. The worst part was that lives were lost during the encounters (Kynoch & Ulicki, 2000). Furthermore, it was also discovered that cattle rustling has undermined the hitherto known social cohesion enjoyed by rural populace just as and it has limited social trust, principles of hospitality, and sense of belonging in Plateau State, Nigeria (Kwaja & Abdul, 2016).

5.5 Cattle Rustling Existing Preventive Approaches in Kaduna State

5.5.1 Border Security

From the interview conducted, it was discovered that the Kaduna State government beefed up security along her borders with other states to prevent cattle rustling in its rural communities. In addition, airplanes were bought for border surveillance. immigration and other security agents were all given the mandate to protect the state borders against criminals. Some of the informants stated that preventing foreign herdsmen from entering the country is an effective means of preventing cattle rustling because a very good number of them are from the neighbouring countries. However, the method was shattered by the porous nature of the State's borders which has made it possible for the foreign cattle rustlers to come into the State and perpetrate violence on innocent people.

This finding has been supported by Ahmed (2018) who discovered that countries like Cote'd Ivoire and Mali had signed an agreement to control cross-border rustling in

1994 while the Niger Republic and Burkina Faso also did something in 2003. The result, therefore, was the emergence of Niger Pastoral Ordinance of 2009 and Niger Rural Code of 1993 which were all aimed at curbing cattle rustling in the border communities.

5.5.2 Disarmament

It was also discovered that the state government had resorted to disarmament to prevent cattle rustling in Kaduna State. A committee was formed to collect all the illegal arms in the possessions of the rural populace in addition to a peace accord was reached with the criminal gangs in the forest. However, most of the informants who talked on disarmament said it was not effective for the criminals later went back to their act of criminality because the government did not fulfill its promises, leaving the lives of the law-abiding rural populace at risk.

In the Karamoja Region of Uganda, such disarmament campaigns were undertaken in 2001 and 2002 where at least 10,000 weapons were recovered, However, 8,000 of the firearms were returned to the warriors recruited to work as members of an anti-cattle rustling shouldered with the responsibility of preventing livestock raids. In Turkana, approximately 1,710 firearms were returned. The disarmament was not found to be effective because the neighbouring tribes repeatedly attacked the disarmed communities in Turkan south (Kandel, 2016).

5.5.3 Media for Enlightenment

Findings show that the state government used media in its efforts to get rid of the cattle rustling. Contact numbers of the police were made public through a radio programme for an emergency call. The cattle recovered from the rustlers by the police were announce through the radio. Reconciliation and the disarmament efforts were also initiated through the media. The use of the media for prevention of the cattle rustling was not very effective as in most times, when they called, the police would only show up when the rustlers had gone. More so, the rustlers were all aware of government's plans on how to curb their activities.

In the north-west region of Cameroun, the media and the traditional leaders were used to educate, sensitize and mobilize all the necessary security agents to prevent cattle rustling. This strategy was found to be effective in most of the cattle rustling-prone rural communities (Manu *et al.*, 2014).

5.5.4 Security Agents

Findings from the research show that a combination of security agents like the police, the civil defense, the air force, and the military were used to prevent cattle rustling in the state. Anti-cattle rustling unit was established in the police to handle cases of cattle rustling. There were divergent opinions on the effectiveness of the use of the security agents for the prevention of cattle rustling. Most of the interviewees agreed that the joint patrol was effective. However, others believed that the security agents were not

numerically enough to cover all the rural communities; they are corrupt and that some of them were lacked enough arms to fight the rustlers effectively

Almost speaking in the same view with the findings above, another research conducted had established that security personnel in the Karamoja cluster of Kenya had complained of lack of resources like fuel, arms, and night allowances to operate optimally. When unselective force was deployed in infamous police or army operations, the operatives had the tendency to crackdown on virtually at sighted rather than arresting the cattle rustlers (Kumssa, Jones, & Williams, 2009). Furthermore, the use of the police was not effective because they had continuously repressed the pastoralist communities by perpetrating human rights violations on them during state operations in Borabu Nyanmira County, Kenya (Anyango *et al.*, 2017).

5.5.5 Vigilante group

Findings show that voluntary vigilante groups were initially formed by the rural communities to prevent cattle rustling in the study area. However, they were dissolved, and new ones were created by the state government. The groups were found to be effective because they were part of the rural communities and were more familiar with the terrain and identities of the criminals. The groups would have been more effective, but the Nigerian laws did not allow them to bear arms.

A research conducted in by Momale (2016) in the northern parts on Nigeria found that the vigilante groups were formed in the rural communities to prevent cattle rustling

and other related criminal activities. Though, herdsmen in Zamfara and Kaduna states had alleged that the vigilante groups were guilty of extra-judicial killings, confiscation of cattle, looting of pastoral households, and forced eviction of individual from their houses yet, farmers in the affected rural communities believed that the vigilante groups were effective in containing cattle rustling.

The fact that various means of preventing cattle rustling were used in Kaduna State and the problem persists necessitated the use of the securitization theory suggest a to interpret the phenomenon. The theory suggest a more comprehensive concept like the use of economic, environmental, military approaches at the global, regional, and the local levels to solve the problem (Buzan, Weaver, & de Wilder, 1998).

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the qualitative research findings on the nature and the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of the affected rural communities in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The result of the interviews collected from the field were discussed and justified with the available literature. The last chapter discusses the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the concluding remarks, recommendations, theoretical as well as the methodological contributions made by this work to the understanding of the nature of cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the populace. The research also highlighted the limitations of the study and gives suggestions for further research.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

This study seeks to understand the nature of cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of rural communities of Kaduna State, Nigeria. The research, situated in the qualitative research paradigm is based on the symbolic interactionism perspective and it tries to understand the phenomenon through the research participants, observation and review of the relevant works. The research participants were purposefully considered for sharing their experiences and worldviews based on their interaction with the phenomenon. Thus, the objectives of this research have been as indicated in the following sentences: The first objective set for the research is to explore the nature of coexistences among the affected rural communities of Kaduna State. Findings have indicated that there was harmony in the rural communities of Kaduna State before and during the days of our colonial masters. The findings also revealed

that at that period, there was trust and all social activities were collectively done without any suspicion or rancor. It was also discovered that the harmony hitherto enjoyed by inhabitant of the affected areas was because of the efforts of the community leaders and their non-interference in the economic activities on account of the other groups.

Further insight into the findings indicated that all communities in the study area experienced conflicts between the farmers and the herdsmen. The conflicts were said to have been caused by factors like: blockage of cattle routes, destruction of crops, commercialization of agriculture, etc. This finding supports the eco-violence theory adapted to understand the phenomenon which suggests that environmental resource scarcity and competition for grazing land leads to conflict. Such a scenario leads to suspicion, loss of lives, destruction of properties, and alteration of the pattern of social relationship among people in the study area.

The second objective was to understand the nature of cattle rustling in the rural communities of Kaduna State. The contextual analysis of the findings on the understanding of the nature of cattle rustling on the social construct meaning, perception and persistence addresses the research question and the above objective. The findings show that cattle rustling exist in the study area. However, it is more prevalent in Birnin-Gwari than in Giwa and Chikun local government areas. The findings also revealed that the cattle rustlers are gradually changing to kidnapping in the study area. Again, cattle rustling was found to be an organized crime perpetrated by groups of people from different economic backgrounds. It was also found that the rustlers who are predominantly herdsmen operate mostly in the night when they feel

safer from arrest by security operatives. Lastly, the cattle rustlers were found to be violent, maiming and killing victims indiscriminately with sophisticated arms.

The third research objective is to find out the effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of people in the rural communities in the study area. Based on the effects of cattle rustling on the rural communities and the support from the literature, this study, using the qualitative case study, examines the effects of the menace on the victims. At the end of the study, finding shows that the economy of the rural communities is affected as farmers have not been cultivating crops and herdsmen are unable to keep livestock because of the fear of the cattle rustling. It was also found that the rural inhabitants had on account of the effects of cattle rustling on them, changed their legal occupations to illegal mining, and motor cycling. Such a situation has led to food insecurity and poverty among the rural populace of Kaduna State.

Furthermore, the education and health systems in the study area were affected as the syllabuses of the schools were not covered, teachers were not punctual at school, and the schools were abandoned. This has led to high level of illiteracy. The hospitals were found to be abandoned because the nurses were afraid to go to work in cattle rustling-prone rural communities. It was also discovered that the rural populace resulted to using herbs as the only available means of treating their illnesses. Kidnapping and killing also affected the well-being of the rural communities. The rustlers resorted to kidnapping their victims for ransom. Also, cattle rustling has engendered rural urban migration on the part of the victims. This has affected the well-being of the old and increased food insecurity in the rural communities.

Kidnapping, killings and migration have become an existential threat in the rural communities of Kaduna State. This informed the use of Securitization theory which state that when a phenomenon becomes an existential threat, the menace should be securitized for the problem to be solved. The study also revealed that cattle rustlers do rape during their operations which lead to trauma, stigma, and psychological fear among the rural populace. Furthermore, children and women were more vulnerable because they find it difficult to move around for fear of unannounced attackers. The finding also revealed that herdsmen were labelled as cattle rustlers, thereby creating an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust around their personalities.

On a final lap, the analyses reveal the findings and give answers to the fourth research objective which was to examine the existing cattle preventive measures adopted by government in the rural communities of Kaduna State. Findings revealed that Kaduna State government used border security, disarmament, media, and vigilante groups to curtail the menace of cattle rustling in the affected area. It was discovered that all the methods used were faced with some problems. For instance, surveillance was mounted on the border to prevent the influx of criminals. However, this was limited by the porous nature of the State's border. On the disarmament measure, a committee was formed and some arms at the disposal of the criminals were retrieved. However, the method was not effective when the criminals went back to the forest when government did not fulfill their promised. The use of media was not effective in the prevention of the crime.

Findings also show that the use of the police, the army, and the civil defense ought to have been effective, but numerically they are not enough to cover all the affected rural communities. Again, some of them found to be corrupt and some were alleged to have connive with the rustlers in the perpetration of their evil deeds. Vigilante group were voluntarily formed by the community members to prevent cattle rustling and other related criminalities. However, the approach was not adequate because the laws of the land prohibit the members from using arms that could enable them to confront the rustlers head-on

6.3 Recommendations

The study established the nature of coexistence among the rural populace of the study area. There was harmony in the rural communities before and during the colonial period, there were trust and activities are done collectively. However, the nature of the present coexistence has degenerated to conflicts between the herdsmen and the farmers because of the scarcity and unequal distribution of environmental resources. The herdsmen destroy crops while the farmers have blocked the hitherto existing cattle routes. Therefore, the study recommends to the government and the policymakers to create cattle colony that will restrict the movement of cattle to specified spaces for the use of the herdsmen. For the farmers, laws should be made to reclaimed punish whosoever blocks the cattle routes.

The findings from this research should be used to solve the problems of cattle rustling affecting the well-being of people in the rural communities. The securitization

approach which is holistic to the prevention of cattle rustling should be applied in Nigeria and other developing countries at large where the menace exists. The research will also be useful for policy makers and rural communities in general on how to prevent cattle rustling in Kaduna State, and Nigeria as a whole.

The study has discovered that cattle rustling activities still exist in Kaduna State at an alarming rate. Policymakers should create vibrant secret police that will watch and arrest the perpetrators. Members of the affected communities should fully cooperate by giving security personnel useful information on the presence and activities of the rustlers.

The study also found that the cattle rustlers operate in organised groups. The syndicate is made up of herdsmen, traditional leaders, security personnel, transporters, suppliers of arms, and businessmen that buy the stolen cattle. Government should train and allow members of the local vigilante groups since they are conversant with the terrain to bear arms that will match the deadly and sophisticated arms used by the cattle rustlers

Since the nefarious activities of the cattle rustlers have affected the social and economic lives of the rural communities of Kaduna State, policymakers should come up with social welfare programmes that will improve the well-being of the rural communities.

Since the preventive measures taken by the state government have been found not to be effective in tackling the menace of cattle rustling in the affected areas, and the personnel are not enough to go around, the study suggest that more funds should be set aside to employ enough personnel that will police the rural communities, purchase more firearms, and other security gadgets and improve on the salary given to the security personnel.

6.4 The Research Contributions and Implications

This research contributes to both theory and practice to policy makers as shown from the analysis of the data collected. The theoretical and methodological contributions of this study are as follows:

The theoretical contributions of this research, from the theoretical domain, are the use of the three theories for the understanding of cattle rustling. The theories (eco-violence, queer ladder theory of mobility, and securitization) were triangulated. Findings from the study corroborated the theories so adopted

Secondly, on the methodological contribution, this study observed that the little efforts to address the problem, praiseworthy as they are, are lacking in methods of data collection. Many studies conducted on cattle rustling such as (Schilling et al, 2012; Anyango, Muhingi, Okuku, Mutavi, & Mwalw, 2017;Gidado, 2018; Cheserek, Omondi, & Odenyo, 2012; Khisa et al. 2016) used only quantitative method of data collection. Some scholars like (Okoli and Okpaleke, 2014; Alani, 2014; Arthur et al., 2016; Ibrahim et al., 2016; Olaniyan & Yahaya, 2016) used only the secondary

method of data collection to understand the phenomenon. The exception is that of scholars in East Africa (Schilling et al., 2012) who used the interview method as a qualitative means of data collection.

The methodological contributions of this study are that the researcher had triangulated the qualitative method of data collection (in-depth interview, Focus Group Discussions, observations, and secondary data) since most of the studies consulted did not triangulate their sources of data. More interestingly, the data were qualitatively analysed with the aid of Nvivo 11 as a qualitative data analysis software package.

This study will serve as a source of rich reference material on cattle rustling. Academics, researchers and students will find this thesis useful, particularly in Nigeria where the phenomenon is relatively new and not much has been written in the area. Extension of this study to the nature of coexistence in the rural communities and the effectiveness of the existing preventive approaches were rarely studied. Consequently, this study has not only contributed to the existing literature in this area of scholarship, but it has also opened a new vista of scholarly endeavours where like-minded scholars will research more into this phenomenon.

6.5 Limitations of this Study

Although this research has contributed to the existing knowledge in the area of the study, however, there are some obvious limitations. The research aimed at understanding the entire nature of cattle rustling. Though, it was discovered that it is a

very difficult task to accomplish because the subject of study is dangerous and criminal in nature. People are afraid of discussing it for fear of being attacked by the cattle rustlers. To get data for the work, the research had to rely on security personnel, the security adviser to the governor, herdsmen, and the traditional leaders in the affected areas.

The inability to speak directly with the cattle rustlers who are considered very important to this research was initially a limitation. Nonetheless with the assistance of the Commandant, Kaduna Prison, this was overcome. The researcher was introduced to the commandant by the Head, Sociology department ABU, Zaria. The laws of the prison barred researchers from recording their discussions with the prisoners. This limitation was addressed by the researcher through note-taking.

Finally, part of the limitations of this study is that most of the 23 local government areas in Kaduna State were affected by the activities of the cattle rustlers. The study was, therefore, restricted to only three local government areas: Birnin-Gwari, Chikun, and Giwa. Furthermore, the study was on the nature and effects of cattle rustling on the well-being of rural communities of Kaduna State. Therefore, the findings may not be applicable to other parts of the world. Though some methodologists in case studies are of the view that the findings of case study could still be extended to other domains when they generate concepts that are general and capable of being extended to other domains (Merriam, 2009). In this regard, findings from this research may fit that purpose.

6.6 Suggestions for Further Research

This study is on the nature of cattle rustling and its effects on the well-being of the rural communities in Kaduna State, Nigeria. The researcher used Eco-violence, Queer ladder theory of mobility, and Securitization theories to understand the nature of the rural coexistence and cattle rustling in the study areas. To improve on the existing preventive measures of cattle rustling, in Kaduna State, Nigeria and the third world in general, future researchers need to explore variables such as rural community policing and mass education of the rural populace, as means of preventing cattle rustling. Furthermore, this study could be replicated within another context of different political, economic and cultural backgrounds.

Another area of suggestion for further research is that future researchers should focus on exploring the mixed method, i.e., combining qualitative and quantitative methods to get more rich, empirical and mass data. The mix mode will enable future researchers to measure variables described by the qualitative aspects of the research.

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Appendix A

In-Depth Interview (IDI) / Focus Group Discussions Protocols

General Characteristics of the Informants

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Religion
4. Ethnic group
5. Educational level
6. Occupational
7. Country of origin

Nature of Coexistence Among Rural Communities of Kaduna State

8. There have been complain on the deteriorating nature of living between farmers and pastoralists in rural communities of Kaduna State

Probe: The nature of living before, during and after colonial administration

Was is it harmonious

How was it harmonious

Was it conflictual? How?

How often was the conflict? Who are those mostly involved?

9. Nature of Cattle Rustling in the Rural Communities

Probe: How is the cattle rustling?

Those mostly involved

Do the rustlers come with arms?

Where do they have the arms they use?

Are there sponsors?

Who are the rustlers?

What time of the day do they commit the act ?

Is cattle rustling a group affair?

10. Effects of Cattle Rustling on the Well-being of Rural Communities

Probe: Effects on education

Economic

Life of people

Health

socialisation

11. The Existing Cattle Rustling Preventive Approaches in the State

Probe: preventive approaches on ground

When did they start?

How effective

Where are they situated



Sample of Transcribed In-depth Interview

R 19 Dr Yahya Saleh

16/02/2018

10:30am to 11:28am

53 years

Male

Islam

Fulani

PhD. in environmental management

Chairman Giwa L.G

Nigeria

At the office of the Local Government Chairman

Nature of social coexistences among rural communities

They are two independents, yet I can say dependent groups. The farmers are strictly on farming business and the cattle owners or herdsmen as you call them concentrates on animal domestication like cow, goats and sheep. Why I said they are interdependent while the herdsmen produce the milk and meat for the consumption of the farmers produce the residues of their farms for the consumption of the herdsmen. They are all farmers while this one farm animals the other farm crops. They were living harmoniously, farmers keep residues to herdsmen and herdsmen sell animals to them, they inter marry, do naming ceremony together. It begins to deteriorate when the herdsmen begin to lose support from their neighbours. The farmers begin to burn the residues of their farm product that herdsmen rely on to feed their animals this causes the problem between them. And the second issue is when land becomes short in supply and the farmers begin to encroach on cattle routes and herdsmen have no option than to pass through and destroy the crops on their route. Another source of conflict is climate change lack enough rainfall force the herdsmen to move from northern parts

of the country to the south, in the process of their movement because the routes are blocked and as a result, they destroy farmers crops. They are not leaving harmoniously because of these factors. You hear a report of conflict all the time.

Nature of cattle rustling

My local govt Giwa as the chairman faces serious problem of cattle rustling especially in certain areas like Kidandan, Galadimawa, Iddasu, Kaya, Fatika You hardly can tell those responsible for the cattle rustling, but its integration of the local breeds and some people we don't know where they come from. They come in a group of not less than 40 to 50 sophisticated arms to rustle cattle and kidnap people from the rural communities. This is horrible, they mostly go in the evening. Most of those in the rural communities that produce crops that sustain the urban areas have now migrated to cities, leading to production of crops. Those people who comes from outside train the local ones. It's an organised crime with other people involved. When I had a meeting all the stakeholders last week, all former chairmen were also invited to discuss security issues and all they were saying is that the neglect of the structures of the traditional rulers causes the problem, number two the connivance of traditional rulers also causes problem. We conclude at that meeting that a law must be put in place that anyone that allow cattle rustling to happen in his area must produce the rustler because they know them. We have task the traditional leaders from ward head, village head to district heads to be up and doing and whenever such thing happen the must be dealt with.

Effects on the wellbeing of the rural community

There are a lot of effects, you see the production of crops last years was low even though the government encourage it because of the cattle rustling. And most of the people with independent and large-scale farms along Abuja road, along Birnin Gwari LG and Giwa LG this are areas where most elites invest in animal production, but all their cattle were rustled. This has led to the closure of these farms that many people are employed. This has affected the economy of the people, the owners of the farms, the local govt and the state in general. The local people saw it as a source of money, so they begin to get involved.

Many people were killed, their relatives are left with trauma. Some herdsmen communities have deserted their areas, we have invested in schools and hospitals, but no one comes. The workers are scared, and the children of the herdsmen are moved to local govt that are safer. Giwa has the biggest crop market in the whole state, but the market is always empty because of the fair of kidnappers and rustlers.

Existing Cattle Rustling Preventive Approaches

In my effort as the chairman I have engaged the service of military in Fatika like a command, they are station there just to ensure they stop cattle rustling around the area particularly that most of them cross from Katsina and Zamfara states to Kaduna State. Of recent I have applied for additional mobile police to have at least three different stations. And I have also applied for special task force called operation Yaki. I am going to take care of some their operating cost like fuel, and some allowances to be able to guard. They will be patrolling the area in the night and the normal police will take care of the areas in the afternoon.

Again, we always have monthly security meetings with the stakeholders like police, DSS, traditional leaders, and civil defense. On the part of the state govt, they have created operation yaki and shoulder them with responsibilities of curbing all vices especially in rural communities. They have tried and achieved tremendously because they have made many arrests and collected thousands of cattle back to the owners. Again, the state created the vigilante group, they are to be inaugurated and they are going to have many stages of screening, they will be screen by the village head, district head, by the local govt which will be done by the DPO Divisional Police officer of the local govt, the SSS state security agency, and then the other security outfit of the local govt. they will finally be screen by the state govt. and finally release the competent ones. These are volunteers, they will only be given allowance not salary. This will now be a kind of community policing which will be very effective. It will more effective because they know them, and they will help immensely with rich information.

The federal government in collaboration with most states created the SARS this are the usual police you around the roads which created just to deal with kidnapping, cattle rustling and rural banditry.